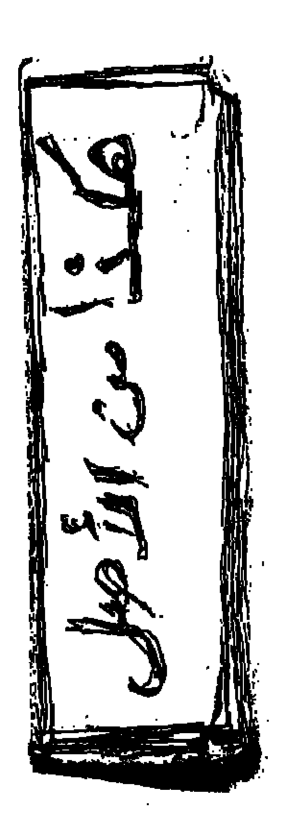


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Kohl casts an optimistic eye over Ostpolitik

When Edward Shevardnadze visited the Federal Republic this month, he became the first Soviet Foreign Minister to go to Bonn in seven years. The visit reflects the changing nature of relations between Bonn and the East Bloc. This report is by Wolf J. Bell in *General-Anzeiger Bonn.*

Unperturbed optimism is one of Chancellor Helmut Kohl's fundamental qualities. The way he outlined how he thought foreign policy would shape up this year was a case in point.

In his insouciance, he seemed blithely to disregard the huge mountain of European and transatlantic problems that will have to be dealt with.

The Opposition SPD immediately got stuck into Kohl for what it says is his lack of clarity. But it apparently overlooked an astonishingly new aspect of his remarks.

With self-confident single-mindedness the Chancellor indicated that he intends making full use of the scope created last year for a more active Ostpolitik by Bonn and spearheading Alliance activities in this field.

The scheduled visit to Germany by Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachov is given particular priority in Kohl's programme for 1988.

In view of the long list of other international appointments, however, Gorbachov's visit is unlikely to take place during Bonn's six-month presidency of the European Community, which lasts until the end of June.

Talks with Soviet Foreign Minister Edward Shevardnadze during his visit to Bonn this month will provide more information on the timing of Gorbachov's visit.

Doubts can no longer be cast on the serious intention of both sides to make a fresh start in Soviet-German relations.

An essential prerequisite is the firm acceptance of Ostpolitik in the West.

Kohl emphasised this fact and at the same time established a special connection between policy objectives vis-à-vis East Bloc countries and progress in the European Community during Bonn's presidency.

Indeed, progress or failure in one field has an automatic impact on the other. Franco-German coordination is particularly important.

Kohl merely hinted at the extent to which this had been improved during recent weeks.

The Chancellor apparently wanted to avoid anticipating the jubilee meeting on 22 January marking the 25th anniversary of the signing of the Treaty on Franco-German Cooperation.

During this meeting it is expected that, apart from practical steps towards greater defence cooperation, a joint security council as well as economic and finance councils will be set up by both governments, enabling even greater policy coordination.

For different reasons Kohl was well-advised not to go into German-American relations in greater detail.

All the signs are that a highly critical phase lies ahead in the dialogue with Washington over the future overall strategy of the West.

The tendency shown by the USA to delay the signing of the United Nations convention on a global ban of C-weapons is a signal of serious differences of opinion.

Bonn was even more alarmed by the report submitted to the Pentagon by the Commission for Integrated Long-Term Strategy.

The report refers to the process of European cooperation in accordance with the spirit of the Helsinki final accords as a "potentially catastrophic" concept.

The report totally rejects a ban on C-weapons, stresses that Nato should be able to carry out a conventional counteroffensive "deep into enemy territory" and that Alliance partners should be allowed to take defensive action "beyond the borders of the Alliançe".

Kohl made no reference to the expected degree of difficulty during the talks between the US Administration and Bonn Foreign Minister Hans-Dietrich Genscher, which begin in Washington on 21 January.

He simply called to mind the goverment policy speech he made on 10 December, which describes Bonn's position clearly enough.

His speech assumed that the basic objectives of the tried and tested 1967 Harmel Report, which defined a guaranteed defensive capacity and the willingness to cooperate with East Bloc countries as equally significant elements of the Nato strategy, would be retained.

The Commission for Integrated Long-Term Studies, however, with Pentagon secretary of state Ikle and former presidential advisors Kissinger and Brezinski among its list of previous members, has completely questioned this ap-

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Soviet Foreign Minister Edward Shevardnadze (left) makes a point as he meets Bonn Foreign Minister Hans-Dietrich Genscher in Bonn. (Photo: dpa)

Genscher visit reveals a change of attitude by the Poles

Will the real Marian Orzechowski please step forward? Last July, Poland's Foreign Minister said in a newspaper interview that the spirit of revisionism was still alive in the Federal Republic of Germany.

He said Bonn was seeking to play a dominant role in Europe and that it regarded Poland as part of a *Mitteleuropa* concept.

Poland's interest in the German Question and in relations with Bonn should be become "an interest of the entire socialist community". This sounds very much like an "Orzechowski doctrine".

Now when Bonn Foreign Minister Hans-Dietrich Genscher was due to visit Poland three years ago, a programme of private visits was submitted to the Polish authorities. It was rejected and Genscher called off his visit at the last minute.

This is where the other Orzechowski stepped in — the man who welcomed Genscher during his visit to Poland this month.

The same private programme suggested by Genscher for his planned trip three years ago was resubmitted — and approved. And the man who approved it was none other than Foreign Minister Orzechowski.

It was also Orzechowski who this time said that the fate of those Germans who lost their homes in what is now Polish territory belong to the historical background of German-Polish relations. No Polish official had ever said this before.

The jarring tone from Warsaw last summer was provoked by the formation of a Franco-German brigade and the visit to Bonn by East German leader Erich Honecker. Both events aroused considerable suspicions in Warsaw.

It looks as if the fact that sympathetic words were found during Genscher's visit to Poland is due to a realisation that, following an assessment of all the circumstances, the Federal Republic of Germany can hardly — and does not want to be — classified as Poland's worst enemy.

There has been an improvement in East-West relations. The past has often shown that German-Polish relations are automatically influenced by the general state of East-West relations.

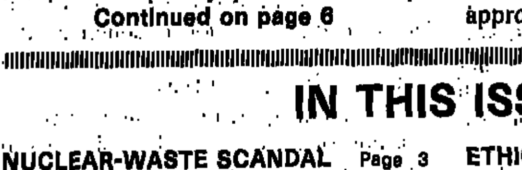
The former, of course, can also benefit from a favourable development of the latter.

At the moment the spirits are so high that Poland's leaders apparently failed to notice the recent extension of Franco-German miliary cooperation, which has caused such concern in many East Bloc countries.

The improvement in the general climate, however, is not solely due to a warming of relations between Washington and Moscow.

It is also the product of growing cooperation between states on both

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IN THIS ISSUE

■ WORLD AFFAIRS

A new defence strategy takes shape

The Soviet-American INF treaty might be a welcome development but it pulls the rug out from under the West's basic thinking on defence.

New ideas are needed now more than ever. Washington is taking the new reality seriously. American experts have come up with a new strategy called "discriminate defence." This is a graduated, prudent deterrent based on attacking selected sites in a limited war.

The concept is the result of an inter-party study in which major roles were played by Fred C. Iklé, under secretary at the Washington Defence Department, and Albert Wohlstetter, the grand old man of strategic thinking. Wohlstetter is head of the European-American Institute for strategic Studies in Los Angeles.

Former National Security Adviser Brezinski and for Secretary of State Henry Kissinger were joined on the panel by former generals and diplomats from both the Republican and Democratic persuasions.

Their report will be followed in a few months by eight more intensive individual studies on the topic of security.

The experts believe that the USA and the Western Alliance has been concentrating too much on the wrong kind of military strategy.

They say Nato saw the greatest danger in a massive conventional attack by Warsaw Pact forces or, instead, a nuclear attack which would lead to the absolute destruction of both sides.

They also say the West also made the mistake of adopting the basic concept of using all kinds of atomic weapons in a more or less automatic escalation to the strategic level.

The study says the future belongs to "smart weapons." These were suitable within the framework of a cleverly controlled political strategy for selective attacks.

This also happened to be the strategy of the Soviet Union. They could use them to divide the allied forces and induce individual member states to neglect their defensive responsibilties.

The report tolls the end of the all-or-nothing use of the nuclear deterrent, which up until the Washington summit, had been the recipe for peace in Europe.

The experts say the strategy was only a bluff. In reality nobody would have allowed a peripheral Soviet attack on the north or south-west flanks of Nato to escalate into a global war.

Both sides can now see through this strategy. Since such a bluff is transparent, the experts say it only encourages the enemy to attack selective targets.

And indeed even President Reagan himself looks upon the concept of mutual destruction as nothing more than a suicide pact. As an alternative, the study group stresses the attractiveness of limited attacks on specific targets on enemy territory.

With modern technology it's now possible to have better control of such graduated attacks without risking an armageddon.

The Americans and the Soviets have built their commando and operation centres so securely they would survive nuclear attacks.

The flexibility of selective attacks would also enable Nato to rely on new conventional precision weapons, which could take over the tasks of nuclear weapons.

The study also stresses that the USA, in a world which is becoming multipolar, will have to prepare itself for possible dangers in the Third World.

There is always the possibility that some kind of "low intensity" crisis could escalate there and that the Soviet Union could be drawn into it.

The Soviets would always want to keep control of events to make sure that they did not get out of hand. In this way they would keep the political and military risk to a minimum.

The Americans include terrorist attacks such as sabotage in their definition of low-intensity crisis. They are reckoning with attacks on installations. This calls for an arsenal of graded weapons in proper relation to gravity of the deed.

They would also like to see the delivery of accurate weapons to opponents of Soviet supported regimes such as in Afghanistan or Nicaragua.

The study expects the French and the British in particular to take over part of Europe's nuclear defence and to have troops on the alert for sudden missions outside Nato. Admittedly the Americans see the threat from the Third World as a case in which the allied forces might in doubt refuse the USA the use of their bases or air space.

The Europeans see that the new thinking is moving towards limited conflicts. This devalues the credibility of old concept of the automatic linking up with the strategic nuclear arsenal of the USA.

What we have instead is a cautious American force operating around the world indulging in horizontal escalation. This is attacking the enemy at points other than the ones chosen by him, in order to make the deterrent believable. This would include the possibility of politically destabilising Soviet satellite nations in times of crisis.

The study is faced with historical difficulties. It recommends with good reason, military means to effectively threaten the enemy in his deepest territories.

But Pershing 2 and cruise missiles have been already given away at the bargaining table. And new conventional weapons are being watched suspiciously as a new form of rearmament.

So how are the Europeans going to threaten credibily the enemies deepest territories? Many in Nato want a return to

RHEINISCHER MERKUR

the old tactic of massive nuclear reprisal. Even President Mitterrand recently said as much. Many are retreating stronger than ever from the stage of a manageable war.

The study is fascinating. It shows us how the Americans think about strategy. But it raises many questions which cannot be quickly answered.

For in these times of disarmament and *Ostpolitik* dynamics strategy is probably more important now than ever. However it is also probably more difficult to find a common basis for agreement on military policy.

Even in the USA, the report is not guaranteed of meeting any kind of broad agreement. For example the study rejects disarmament for the purpose of demonstrating international good will. It is also not in keeping with President Reagan's dream of a nuclear free world. And with regard to liberals, they do not like the proposed brand of roaming interventionism.

One thing is certain. Thinking about 1988 strategy has begun. The Europeans cannot afford to run down American studies. Instead they will have to get on with coming up with their own if they want to preserve their historical importance.

Thomas Kielinger

(Rheinischer Merkur/Christ und Welt, Bonn, 15 January 1987)

Sanctions against South Africa: views still as split as ever

Sanctions against the South African government could be made to work, says a controversial report by a Protestant church group. It says that sanctions could be made to lower the standards of the whites and make them realise that they could not have both apartheid and an integrated place in the world economy. But the issue remains as highly disputed as ever, as Barbara von Ow reports for the Munich daily, *Süddeutsche Zeitung.*

One thing became clear at a conference of experts of the *Economics and Politics Foundation* in Ebenhausen. Two days of heated discussion showed that the topic of economic boycott and South Africa is more disputed than ever.

One participant said the meeting had been "weighed down with emotion." The dynamite was provided by a report by the *Starnberger Institute for the Research of Global Structures, Developments and Crises.*

The report, commissioned by the Evangelical church, EKD, calls for more sanctions. The commission has simplistic arguments which are controversial even in church circles.

The institute says a comprehensive, effective economic boycott of South Africa is possible. It would be capable of bringing the apartheid regime to its knees.

It would need to attack the "special integration" of South Africa in world commerce. According to the report, a small group of six industrial nations control world trade and international finance.

Sanctions would lower the standard of living of the white elite, which would be forced to realise that it could not have two things at the same time: apartheid and an integrated place in the world economy. This could be done with few negative consequences for blacks. On the contrary, effective sanctions would be their first ray of hope.

However this outlook ran into its fair share of criticism. Critics said that the report was misleading. They said it was impossible to introduce sanctions without also economically affecting blacks.

One EKD representative said the report was counterproductive. Many people in the church were holding it up like a Bible. This new Bible had awakened dangerous expectations.

Another church leader distanced himself from sanctions. He said sanctions should not be used as a punitive action. It should not be the purpose of boycotts to bring about an economic collapse.

An expert from the *Arnold-Bergsträsser-Institute* said the alleged particular dependency of South Africa on leading industrial nations was fiction. He said the theme of sanctions has become blurred.

One reason for the blurredness of discussions is the unpredictable nature of sanctions. Particularly in a policy of selective petty annoyance, which more often than not has too often been the case.

The current crisis at the Cape was due more to the weak global economic situation, the fall in prices for raw materials and internal political problems.

Despite that, the first negative effects of the boycott are evident. The main areas hit have been agriculture and the raw materials industries.

But a specialist of the *Ifo-Institute for Economic Research* said, Pretoria has admittedly succeeded in achieving a remarkable overall economic balance, but at a cost of lower growth and increasing unemployment.

Specialists say South Africa will have eight million unemployed by the year 2,000. If sanctions were effective one could reckon with 45 per cent of the working black population being unemployed.

Despite that, one should not underestimate Pretoria's ability to adjust. Unfortunately experts can imagine a South Africa still functioning with 10 million unemployed.

There was no agreement at the conference about the effects of the boycott. Opponents of sanctions refer to the swing to the right at the elections last May — probably a reaction to international pressure. Critics of sanctions said that polarisation leads not to social progress but to more repression. Social change is achieved in a flourishing economy, not in a collapsing one.

Supporters of sanctions said the mystified thesis of anti-sanctioneers is a simplification. They said that it was precisely last year that unity among the whites broke down. A process of differentiation is taking place now among the Boer elite mainly because of the sanctions. The social spectrum is rearranging itself. The result is people are discussing politics more in the press, in the schools and in the universities.

Both sides of the sanctions debate agreed that sanctions would have long-term psychological effects which would force the white elite into being more conscious of what the outside world thinks of them.

The conference also discussed the attitude of blacks themselves to sanctions. But there was no clarity.

The conference is dependent on opinion polls. But these can be easily manipulated. The results differ according to how questions are put.

If blacks are asked if they are in favour of sanctions the majority answer yes. If they are asked if they should put jobs at risk the majority say no. To make matters more complicated the leading black organisations are now disunited.

It's true that the confederation of trade unions COSATU at its last congress called for an international boycott. But precisely because of that they have ended up in a crisis of identity and legitimacy.

Even if nobody here believes that sanctions would not have negative effects on blacks, there are still those who are in favour. They believe that blacks have suffered so much that they are prepared to suffer even more. They say only a small number would become poorer.

Others are more pessimistic. A representative of the EKD said most blacks could not imagine how terrible an economic collapse would be.

After all was said and done, one thing remained clear. An economic collapse caused from outside South Africa was not at stake.

Instead it was the calculated reduction of economic support. The possibility of influence from outside should not be over estimated. The impetus for change in South Africa has to come from within.

Barbara von Ow

(Süddeutsche Zeitung, Munich, 9 January 1988)

The German Tribune

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■ NUCLEAR-WASTE SCANDAL

'No evidence' that suspended firms sent material to Pakistan, Libya

No hard evidence has emerged to back reports that fissionable material has been sent from Germany to Libya or Pakistan, says Bonn Environment Minister Klaus Töpfer. Such exports are banned under the terms of the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty. The allegations come on the heels of a scandal over illegal trans-border shipments of nuclear waste by a company called Transnuklear GmbH, a subsidiary of Nukem GmbH, a big nuclear fuel maker. Transnuklear is thought to have brought nearly 2,500 drums of nuclear waste with false labels into Germany from Belgium. More than 300 of the drums are thought partly to contain plutonium and cobalt 60. Töpfer has suspended the licences of both companies. In this article Christian Schütze, writing in *Süddeutsche Zeitung*, the Munich daily, says it seems the law of push-and-shove has emerged in a bid to make a fast buck in the nuclear-fuels industry.

The scandal surrounding the nuclear power company, Nukem, and its subsidiary, Transnuklear, is getting bigger and uglier every day.

What originally looked like just a West German affair, at best suited for investigations by the European Atomic Energy Community, has now become a matter of international concern following suspicions that Nukem and Transnuklear may have been involved in delivering fissile nuclear material to Pakistan or Libya.

No evidence has yet been found of a breach of the Non-Proliferation Treaty.

But if investigations corroborate allegations that the Treaty's provisions have been broken, the implications for the Federal Republic of Germany's reputation as a signatory state and the German nuclear power industry as an international business partner would be disastrous.

Bonn Environment Minister Klaus Töpfer and the Premier of the state of Hesse, Walter Wallmann, say the suspension of the two controversial firms and a call for boardroom dismissals had nothing to do with suspicions that the Non-Proliferation Treaty had been violated.

(The companies are based in Hanau, which is in Wallman's *Land* of Hesse.)

But their swift and tough response may well have been strongly influenced by this report.

The fact that West German Ministers reacted so promptly on the mere suspicion of such a possibility might some day be held in their favour.

The international nuclear community recalls only too well the negotiations which preceded the signing of the Non-Proliferation Treaty.

Of the "nuclear have-nots", those countries which did not possess nuclear weapons, did not want them or which other countries felt should not have them, the Federal Republic of Germany was among the most obstreperous.

Bonn complained that the planned treaty was an instrument restricting technological progress in the peaceful use of nuclear energy.

Influential spokesmen from the CDU and CSU spoke of a "Super-Versailles", via which the nuclear powers, especially the major powers, wanted to contain the threat of economic competition of smaller countries in the nuclear fields.

The Federal Republic of Germany made its accession to the Treaty dependent upon the incorporation of safeguard clauses designed to make industrial espionage impossible without undermining the Treaty's objective of preventing fissile materials (uranium or plutonium) from being misused to make bombs instead of put to peaceful use to generate power.

In the opinion of the Vienna-based International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA) at least, the Treaty has served its purpose well for twenty years.

The Agency is responsible for the control of all the nuclear facilities of signatory states or at least for the "verification" of the findings of the control checks carried out by controllers inspecting those facilities on behalf of the European Atomic Energy Community and in accordance with the Euratom Treaty.

During the numerous recently conducted inspections the controllers from Vienna found no evidence of any misuse of fissile material.

Even the director of Euratom referred to 610 "man-days" of inspections in 1987 by the IAEA and by his organisation without the discovery of any sign of questionable practices.

However, he emphasised that, as always, absolute security cannot be guaranteed wherever human beings are involved.

Bonn Environment Minister Töpfer has now called in the IAEA to check the control data.

If rumours are confirmed, this would mean that although the Federal Republic of Germany may have the safest reactors in the world its nuclear power industry managers represent an international security risk.

This would be particularly embarrassing this year, since the Non-Proliferation Treaty is due to be reviewed and extended.

Yet even if there is no confirmation of the "Pakistan connection", at least not with respect to uranium or plutonium, the inner-European movements of fissile material which wanders to and fro in nuclear waste in a more or less enriched or diluted form is sufficient cause for concern.

Many now believe that the already discovered 2,400 barrels of nuclear waste transported by the firm Transnuklear only represent the tip of the iceberg.

Other firms transported similar material and more and more traces leading to hitherto unknown institutions are coming to light.

It is becoming clear that a vast network of dynamic private firms and numerous institutions has taken advantage of loopholes in control stipulations and ironed out any other opposition by paying bribes.

This inner-German aspect should not be ignored. In view of the new sensation the Bundestag debate on Minister Töpfer's policy statement could have lasted a little longer.

MPs in the Bonn coalition government have warned against viewing the misdemeanours of the transport firm Transnuklear as reason enough to carry out a *new* fundamental debate on nuclear energy.

The Opposition parties are keen on precisely such a debate, since the Bundestag has rarely dealt with questions of the basic nature of human beings and technology so thoroughly.

Minister Töpfer (CDU) does not want to take away the "right" of human beings to make mistakes, even in the nuclear field.

He is convinced that risks can be kept to a minimum via technical means and that "the human being must be accepted as a security risk in the responsible use of modern technologies".

Volker Hauff, the environmental policy spokesman of the SPD, not only feel that human beings make mistakes, but that — biblically speaking — they are evil from youth onwards.

For this reason, Hauff maintains, human beings can never be expected to develop the sense of responsibility needed in the field of nuclear energy.

The Transnuklear affair provides powerful arguments in this fundamental dispute.

For fast money and cut-throat competition in a market on which the law of push-and-shove would seem to have greater relevance than a sense of responsibility and specialist know-how a number of individuals have violated against provisions which were elaborated to avert harm from the general public.

Neither the authorities nor the inspectors in the power plants of the private or semi-government electricity companies curbed their activities.

Can people who bribe and accept bribes be trusted to bear in mind the well-being of future generations if they apparently don't even care about the safety of their fellow human beings?

Klaus Traube, once a manager during the construction of a fast breeder reactor, turned his back on the nuclear industry and became one of its most vociferous critics because he did not feel that nuclear waste can be hidden away from the world of the living for hundreds of thousands of years.

In view of the vast quantities of nuclear waste currently produced by nuclear power plants Traube claims that there is no alternative but to stop producing this waste if this earth is to remain a place fit for human habitation.

Traube's conclusion is that society must pull out of a technology which for the *future* requires a brand of human being which past experience shows has never existed and is unlikely to ever exist.

The influential American nuclear physicist Viktor Weiskopf would like to see a "nuclear priesthood" created to make sure that the peaceful use of nuclear energy does not end up in catastrophe.

The Transnuklear case shows that the nuclear community is currently full of bribers and swindlers rather than priests and that the call for a new fundamental discussion of the pros and cons of nuclear energy is more than understandable.

The scandal must at least trigger a radical reform of the structures of the nuclear industry and its control.

Christian Schütze

(Süddeutsche Zeitung, Munich, 16 January 1988)

Continued from page 1

sides of the ideological dividing lines. Poland is no longer an exception.

Freed of the last western sanctions following the visit to Poland by US vice-president George Bush in September last year, and democratically legitimised to a greater extent than similar regimes by a referendum on domestic reforms, Warsaw has managed to improve its profile and gain more room to manoeuvre despite pressing economic worries.

With the carousel of East-West and West-East visits in full swing Warsaw does not want to be the wallflower in the corner.

Genscher benefited from this new situation during his visit and the Polish side benefited from the fact that Bonn's Foreign Minister did not have to attend quite as many rituals dictated by domestic policy considerations.

This in turn was a result of the visit to Moscow by Bavaria Premier Franz Josef Strauss (CSU), which seemed to relax the CDU/CSU stance on Ostpolitik.

Nevertheless, most of the traditional sources of friction between Bonn and Warsaw still remain, even though their volatility have been reduced.

New formulations have helped ease conflicts over a number of issues.

Poland denies the existence of national minorities on its territory, not because they don't exist but because they contributed towards the instability of the political system between the two world wars.

During this period minorities accounted for at least 40 per cent of the population.

A call for minority rights for ethnic Germans still living in Poland, therefore, was not the right way to alleviate the situation.

Genscher now talks of the need to maintain a "cultural and language-related identity".

His hosts had no objection to a meeting between Genscher and representatives of German "circles of friends" from Upper Silesia.

Although problems cannot be removed by simply giving them a new name or packaging they are sometimes then easier to resolve. The "package" method often helped in the past.

There are now hopes that this approach will defuse some of the controversial issues in relations between Bonn and Warsaw.

The setting up of three workgroups for disarmament, economic cooperation and for political, cultural and humanitarian questions is part of an attempt to take stock and establish a balance of interests.

This is likely to lead to compromises, including some which have to be paid for in cash by the Federal Republic of Germany.

The "bill" for the indemnification of the Polish forced labour prisoners of war, which was presented to Bonn last May, may then turn up under the name of "investment promotion".

The look to the future referred to by both Genscher and Orzechowski cannot overlook the "package" aspect.

Josef Riedmiller

(Süddeutsche Zeitung, Munich, 14 January 1988)

■ THE LAW

Tough security precautions as Hamadi kidnap hearing gets underway

DIE ZEIT

The trial of Abbas Hamadi has opened in Düsseldorf. The public prosecutor has accused Hamadi, a Lebanese with West German citizenship, of coercion against the West German government, of taking hostages and of offences against the laws covering explosives.

According to the charge Hamadi was involved in the kidnapping of two German citizens in Beirut, Rudolf Cordes and Alfred Schmidt. *They were taken hostage to prevent the extradition of Abbas Hamadi's brother, Mohammed,* to the United States.

Mohammed Hamadi, 23, is accused of having taken part in the June 1985 hijacking of a TWA aircraft from Beirut that was flown to Rome via Athens. A US marine, Robert Stethem, was murdered in this hijacking, allegedly by Mohammed Hamadi.

Dozens of journalists from West Germany and abroad, from France, Britain and the US, turned up for the opening of the trial. It is expected that it will continue *until 10 February.*

Wide-ranging security measures have *been applied to the courtroom*, a former gym hall in a police barracks. The security controls were stiff. People were body-searched before being admitted.

The gym hall was used for the terrorist trials of the 1970s, when it was rebuilt without windows, with steel doors and video-supervision. On 13 January last year Mohammed Hamadi was arrested in Frankfurt when he arrived on a flight from Beirut — not because a warrant was out for his arrest but because liquid explosives were concealed in wine bottles found in his baggage.

He was accompanied by his brother, Abbas, now 29, who was to carry the explosives through the airport controls in his hand luggage, unchecked, unnoticed.

German officials quickly realised that a big fish had been accidentally caught in their nets.

The US swiftly put in a request to the Federal Republic government to have Mohammed Hamadi extradited. The *Americans wanted to put him before an* American court to face charges that could have carried the death penalty.

According to the public prosecutor, three days after his brother's arrest Abbas Hamadi flew back to Beirut, to kidnap there a German citizen, "with other unknown persons." The West German government was to be forced to refuse the request for Mohammed Hamadi's extradition to the US.

The next day, on 17 January, the head of the Beirut branch of Hoechst AG, Rudolf Cordes, aged 54, was kidnapped, and four days later a Siemens technician in Beirut, Alfred Schmidt. The kidnappers not only demanded that Mohammed Hamadi should not be extradited to the US, but be exchanged for Cordes and Schmidt.

On 26 January 1987 Abbas Hamadi returned to the Federal Republic, obviously accepting the fact that he would be arrested.

Police found a cache of explosives *near where he lived in the Saar.*

The charge against Abbas Hamadi *accuses him of often having smuggled* explosives into the Federal Republic. On this he maintains his silence.

Nothing has emerged in public of contacts and negotiations between the West German government and the kidnappers over the past year.

At times businessman Rashid Mahroum, a Lebanese living in Fürth, has acted as a mediator. He is to appear in court as a witness in the course of the trial.

Alfred Schmidt, the hostage who was released on 7 September last year, has been invited to appear before the court *as a witness. He is in good* health although obviously aged.

On 24 June last year the Federal Republic government rejected the extradition demand from the US, despite massive pressure being applied by Washington.

Mohammed Hamadi, is to be tried in Frankfurt where he is being held in remand prison. Charges will be brought against him within the next few weeks, according to the Frankfurt public prosecutor.

Rudolf Cordes is still being held by his captors, who are suspected of being *members of the radical Shi'ite "Hisbollah"* movement, the "Party of God."

The Hamadi family has the main say in this group. One brother of the Hamadi family of ten sons and daughters, has been killed in Beirut, another is security chief of "Hisbollah" and leader of its military operations.

The fact that Cordes, now in poor health, is still in their hands casts a grave shadow over the Düsseldorf trial.

The kidnappers applied more pressure with a message, delivered to the French news agency AFP the evening before the trial opened.

In it they accused the West German government of flouting the Geneva *Convention, "Nazi ways of thinking"* and made threats to the government in view of the Abbas Hamadi trial.

The message read: "The West German government must consider what is happening over the next few days, realise the consequences and be aware that everything has its price."

Bonn must realise that "the hostage card is not our only one nor the last. We have other trumps in our hand..."

A photo of Cordes was included with the message, the first indication for some time that he was still alive. He looked terrible.

The message from the kidnappers has had an unusual effect on the officials involved *in the trial. Judge Klaus Arend* said at the opening of the second day of *the trial that he had weighed up the situation* for a long time and had decided to make a statement.

He pointed out to the kidnappers in Lebanon that "the trial was independent of the kidnappings." He said that he was not prepared to bow to pressure from outside. "This trial in a state under the rule of law will take its course."

The defence joined him. Lawyer Eckart Hild said: "It is possible that in Beirut a foreign affairs minister can direct a trial, but here that is not possible."

He pointed out that the West German government had no influence on the course of justice, not even in this trial.

In a break in the proceedings *he said* bitterly: "How can I properly conduct a defence? *If I denounce the investigation* methods of the public prosecutor's of*fice then they will say in Beirut:* you are not a state under the rule of law and Cordes will be in trouble."

In the meantime the Bonn government has issued a warning about travelling to the Lebanon. German citizens are at present in danger there.

The dramatic accompanying circumstances and the international dimensions of this trial stand in direct contrast to the mundane atmosphere in the courtroom. Most of the time the proceedings are relaxed. A chatty tone prevails.

The accused contributes to this to a considerable extent. He is polite and friendly, *sometimes almost obsequious.*

He is always in a good mood and oc*casionally glances mischievously* at a witness. Sometimes he makes a joke with his guards, standing to his left and right, so that all three have to laugh heartily.

Abbas Hamadi says nothing about the charges made against him. He denies having taken part in anything and appeals to the kidnappers: "In the name of mankind free Herr Cordes immediately."

The accused's participation in the kidnapping can be only proved, if at all, through circumstantial evidence. Over the next few weeks the court will hear *evidence from 69 witnesses and four experts.*

Abbas Hamadi is very ready to give information about himself. He has told his life story in detail and fluent German, so much so that Judge Arend said to him: "You speak good German, Herr Hamadi."

Modestly he said: "One hopes so," and went on to tell that he came to West Germany nine years ago seeking asylum, at first to Berlin then to the Saar.

When his application for asylum was rejected he married a 14-year-old girl, named in court as Maria M. He said he married her because he loved her.

In October 1984 he was given German citizenship and shortly afterwards his daughter was born. He lived with his *wife and child in Merzig in the Saar* and worked as a welder with a steel construction firm.

He said that he had not been much interested in either religion or politics. One of Abbas Hamadi's friends said in the witness stand that "he only wanted to live contentedly."

About two years ago he got to know a young Lebanese girl. He left his wife on her account. Three months ago they were divorced.

In the witness stand his ex-wife said that they were still friends. As she spoke they looked at each other and smiled.

No, Frau Hamadi said, her husband was not religious. During the whole time they were married he *had only once* gone back to the Lebanon. Hisbollah? *"No, I can't imagine that."*

What did she think when her husband *was arrested.* "I was shocked. I did not believe him capable of that."

Abbas Hamadi only smiled.

Roland Kirbach

(Die Zeit, Hamburg, 15 January 1988)

■ ECOLOGY POLITICS

The year that just sank without trace

1987 was the European Year of the Environment — not that many people noticed it. European Community governments did little to set new environmental priorities.

Politicians avoided doing anything which might have led them to being accused of being misguided.

The sights set were much lower than during comparable initiatives, such as the Year of the Woman or the Year of the Handicapped.

The flowery speeches of the opening ceremony and the numerous pleasant-*sounding declarations of intent* were followed by the dribs and drabs of a normal year.

The Year of the Environment began in April 1987 and, therefore, officially lasts until the end of March 1988.

However, the way in which environmental issues were tackled last year suggests that the Year of the Environment's overall performance will not be all that impressive.

A discrepancy seems likely between the good intentions and action taken. *What did the European Community* seek to achieve in 1987 anyway?

One publication issued by the Bonn government last March stated that 1987 was declared European Year of the Environment in order to increase the general awareness of the need for environmental protection measures.

There is a need to exchange information on ecological problems, enhance understanding for specific national difficulties and efforts, and make people realise that joint action is essential.

The private initiatives in this field, the international conferences of environ*mentalists, conservationists, forestry* experts, consumers initiatives and farmers, have probably made a greater contribution towards achieving these goals.

Most associations and organisations in this field, however, have already been engaged in close cooperation for many years and don't need a Year of the Environment.

European Community governments should have done more to praise these efforts during such a year. There was no sign of a new policy approach.

The environmental initiatives of the European Parliament suffered a similar fate.

In view of the lack of progress made *with regard to these modest objectives*, therefore, it is hardly surprising that the prospects for the more ambitious projects are even gloomier.

Within the framework of their "Fourth Action Programme" the European Community set itself the objective of stepping up measures designed to increase environmental awareness and develop Community activities in the interests of nature conservation.

Environmental policy in 1987, however, moved in the completely opposite direction.

The Community's reluctance to accept production restrictions and bans during the negotiations on the "ozone killers", fluorinated and chlorinated hdyrocarbons (in aerosol sprays, synthetic materials and coolants), was a prime example of how effective environmental measures can be torpedoed *by dogged opposition on behalf of industry.*

Feeble compromises such as the Montreal agreement are then sold as major achievements in the ecological field.

Although the countries attending the North Sea conference in November last year reached agreement on a number of issues the solution to major problems, such as the transportation of toxic *chemicals at sea, was delayed* or postponed.

In the field of the purification of vehicle emissions the European Community praised the adoption of an agreement which is already practised in Germany.

The decisive step, namely a uniform regulation for diesel-powered vehicles in Western Europe, has yet to be taken.

Measures against power plant and industrial emissions are also already established law in the Germany, but stand little chance of Community-wide ac*ceptance due, above all, to British* opposition.

The Year of the Environment has not led to more rethinking.

The latest Community agreement on radiation protection and the permissible thresholds for food is a veritable mockery of all the pleasant-sounding declarations of intent.

The health of the population has seldom been disregarded so blatantly as in this Community agreement.

Bearing in mind the interests of the Community's producers, people are expected in the event of a new — possibly *even more serious — reactor catastrophe* to eat food which even experts *who are not so sceptical about nuclear* energy would classify as heavily contaminated.

In Germany, which usually presents itself as a paragon and took over the presidency of the Community for six months on 1 January, there is no indication that the Year of the Environment was a year of action.

During this period Bonn Environement Minister Walter Wallmann, who



was chosen at the time for want of anyone better, was succeeded by Klaus Töpfer, who has also not been all that successful so far.

The Year of the Environment also included the fiasco of what to do with the freight of contaminated whey, an exam*ple of the state's inability to act.*

The unresolved problem of the *mountains of refuse* (packaging unfit for recycling), the delayed political decisions on toxic chemicals, and, finally, the scandal involving the nuclear power company Transnuklear also shaped environmental policy in 1987.

There was a growing realisation of the lack of state control.

The overall picture is not improved by the fact that agreement was eventually reached on stricter provisions for plant failures or accidents.

Agreement was also reached with in*dustry on a voluntary and drastic reduction* of sprays containing fluorinated and chlorinated hydrocarbons and on a ban on leaded regular-grade petrol before the date originally planned.

It doesn't look as if developments in this field will be able to save the day, or year to be more precise, by the end of March.

One fundamental problem will remain: economic self-interests are given priority over ecological necessities every time.

Herbert Fuehr

(Nürnberger Nachrichten, 6 January 1988)

Berlin remains stumbling block to agreement with Russians

When Soviet Foreign Minister Edward Shevardnadze visits Bonn this month, one topic which is certain to be on the agenda is the long-standing question of a German-Soviet environment agreement.

But hopes that progress will be made *are not high. A major stumbling-block is* the incorporation of the Federal Environment Protection Agency in West Berlin into the agreement. (Berlin is a ticklish issue between the East Bloc and the Federal Republic)

Neither is Bonn likely to ease cooperation with the Soviets by providing finance for its industries which are taking steps to be more environmentally friendly.

An environment agreement with East Germany was signed during the visit to the Federal Republic by East Berlin party leader Erich Honecker last au*tumn. A similar agreement was signed* with Czechoslovakia shortly afterwards.

Bonn Environment Minister Klaus Töpfer described these treaties as pro*viding a "broad basis" for cooperation* with the East Bloc.

The next steps planned by the environmental policy initiative vis-à-vis East Bloc countries were similar agreements with the Soviet Union, Poland and Hungary.

The agreement with the Soviet Union is proving a particularly tough nut to crack. Moscow has unexpectedly rejected the solution found to the problem of incorporating *West Berlin* in the environment agreements with East Germany and Czechoslovakia.

Apart from this aspect, the agreement is otherwise ready for the final signature.

Soviet stonewalling over West Berlin is still the result of the annoyance of Mikhail Gorbachov's predecessor in office, Leonid Brezhnev, at the fact that Bonn former Minister of the Interior and current Foreign Minister, Hans-Dietrich Genscher, ensured that West Berlin was chosen as the location for the Federal Environment Protection Agen*cy in 1972.*

This at least is the opinion of some of *the politicians active during that period.*

The relationship between Bonn and *Moscow deteriorated later on as a result* of Helmut Kohl's Gorbachov-Goebbels comparison and Bonn's stance on the Pershing missiles issue.

In the meantime, the situation has improved. During Bonn President Richard von Weizsäcker's visit to Moscow a German-Soviet science agreement (which incorporated West Berlin) was drawn up.

However, neither this fact nor the general improvement in German-Soviet relations have yet had a positive impact on prospects for an environment agreement.

The *environment agreements drawn* up with Bonn's Eastern neighbours al*ways have a similar structure.*

The primary aspects are air pollution, water pollution, damage to forests, waste disposal and nature conservation.

At the same time, however, Bonn also tries to develop bilateral points of emphasis.

During a meeting of environmental experts with a Czech delegation mid-January, for example, the problem of air pollution will be the main topic on the agenda.

It is hoped that Western environmental technology will help clean up the air over Czechoslovakia, no easy task following the failure of the Buschhaus desulphurising plant in Lower Saxony.

During the forthcoming discussions with Polish experts emphasis will be placed on the fight against the pollution *of the sea, lakes and rivers.*

The Baltic Sea is threatened by Polish *industrial waste and roughly 90 per cent* of Polish rivers are no longer suitable as a source of drinking water.

So far Bonn has only managed to reach an agreement with the GDR on nuclear reactor safety.

In the case of the other Comecon countries Bonn relies on the national application of the corresponding international agreement concluded in Vienna in 1986.

This is a special field of environmental cooperation, therefore, between the Federal Republic of Germany and the GDR.

These contacts are accompanied by hopes that West German industry will *become involved in business activity in* these fields.

In April 1987 the Confederation of German Industry (BDI) called upon Bonn to take concrete steps in international environmental protection so as to offset competitive disadvantages caused by environmental protection and promote the "introduction of German environmental and safety technology in the state-trading nations".

In other words, West German industry is looking for sales markets and hoping that East Bloc products will become more expensive as a result of environ*mental protection.*

This strategy, however, has ignored the fact that Bonn Finance Minister Gerhard Stoltenberg is unwilling to provide any more money.

Bonn's Environment Minister has also advocated the pay-as-you-pollute principle in relations with socialist countries.

He above all feels that they should pay for the removal of their (border-crossing) pollution factors themselves.

This liability contradicts the opinion of *many ecologically-interested economists.*

Professor Martin Jänecke from Berlin, for example, estimates that every D-mark invested in or lent to the GDR or Czechoslovakia for environmental technology will produce a much greater impact on relieving environmental problems in the Federal Republic of Germany and West Berlin.

Given the right conditions the Soviet Union could also turn into a lucrative field of activity for West German industry.

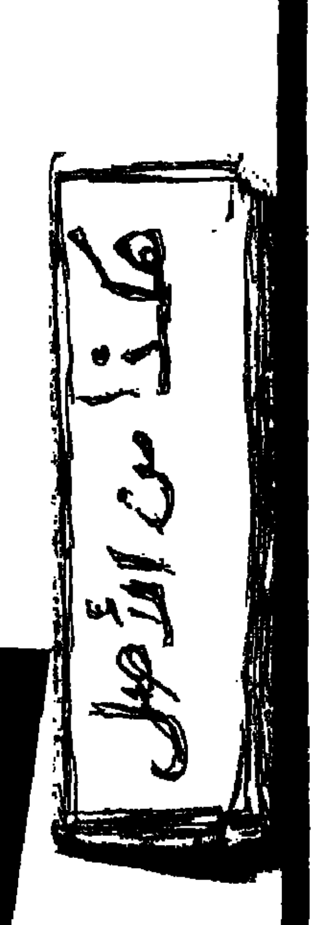
The Soviet Ministry of Health, for ex*ample, was recently forced to admit* that the figures for air pollution were al*ready ten times higher than the threshold figures* fixed by the World Health Organisation (WHO) in 104 Soviet towns and cities.

According to the Deutsches Institut der Wirtschaft (DIW), the iron and steel works in Magnitogorsk, the biggest single steel production location in the world, emits two tonnes of pollutants per head of the population each year.

The situation in other industrial regions in the Soviet Union is not much better.

Heinz Suhr

(Deutsches Allgemeines Sonntagsblatt, Hamburg, 17 January 1988)



THE EUROPEAN COMMUNITY

Turkey remains confident it will be admitted within seven years

Turkey's Foreign Ministry experts think the nation's application for membership of the the European Community will be accepted in six or, at the most, seven years.

Application was made last year. Brussels knew that an application was on the cards, but was still not prepared for it when it actually came.

A Community official said that it was unlikely that the application would be accepted before the turn of the century — and only then if significant changes in the economic and political structure of the country had taken place. But Turkish Foreign Office experts are sticking with six or seven years.

The Prime Minister, Turgut Özal, said he had given priority in foreign policy to linking up with the rest of Europe. He believes membership "will take place sooner than most people believe."

Even Turkish President Kenan Evren stressed the urgency of the application. He said it was not acceptable to shut his country out from the economic and political integration of Europe.

Turkey was after all a partner in Nato and was making a major contribution to her defence. He promised that his land would contribute new political, economic and cultural dimensions.

And it's precisely these new dimensions which the 12 member states are afraid of. West Germany in particular is touchy on the question of Turkish migrant workers. If Turkey is really serious about membership, it will have to make economic changes.

Turkey's gross national product per head is $1,220. This is well below that of Portugal, the EEC's poorest member. Experts with the job of evaluating the application have their work cut out for them.

For one thing, the country's economy is in a mess. The Turkish lira has an inflation rate of 50 per cent. The official unemployment figure is 15 per cent — in reality it's more than 30.

The national debt is $33bn, which is more than 50 per cent of the GNP.

To scare the EEC and particularly Germany even more, the population of 52 million is growing at an alarming rate. At the turn of the century it will be over 70 million. This means that it is unlikely that the job market or the economy will improve in the near future.

Apart from economic considerations, there are other hurdles blocking membership.

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In 1982 the military dictatorship introduced a constitution which has many paragraphs unacceptable to Brussels. The Ankara government is trying to play down the signifigance of this.

But lawyers say that the constitution is a "mountain of complex questions." A solution would take up to a decade and lead to serious conflicts of one kind or another.

Paragraph six would have to be changed. It rules out the relinquishing of either total or partial control of sovereignty. This in itself is a technical problem which should not be to difficult to solve.

The question is what to do with the others? There are many provisions in the generals' basic law and in the Turkish criminal law which run contrary to the spirit of the Treaty of Rome. The following are points of legal contention.

- Trade unions, associations and clubs are forbidden to develop political activities or have connections with political parties.
- The prohibition on members of certain groups such as students, civil servants and soldiers from becoming members of a trade union.
- Turkish passport laws which allow the authorities to turn down Turkish citizens' passport applications. This is in effect a denial of exit permits. About 380,000 people have been refused passports, mainly for political reasons.
- Laws which restrict press freedom, the right to strike or demonstrate.

Some Turkish lawyers say that in order to get membership, paragraphs 141, 142 and 163 of the criminal law will have to be modified. These punish Communist propaganda, Islamic fundamentalism and neo-Fascist activities.

These laws have been implemented against Haydar Kutlu and Nahit Sargin. Both are members of the Communist party. They were arrested on returning from 17 years exile in East Gemany. The are now facing the death penalty.

The EEC will most certainly take a dim view of a number of ordinances on the law books. The most offensive are the secret ordinances 6/3801 which became law in November 1964. These ordinances govern the rights of Greeks or people of Greek descent.

They are prohibited from selling their houses or land or even inheriting. Earnings from rent or leasing have to be put into blocked accounts.

The Treaty of Lausanne from 1923 guaranteed Greeks their rights. But the Turkish government took a one-sided view and suspended many of its provisions.

The result was not only energetic opposition to Turkey's EEC application, but also opposition to ratification of a 1964 partnership agreement between the Community and Turkey. The Greeks also vetoed the 600 million ECUs of aid which had been frozen after the 1980 military putsch.

The most controversial problem facing the Turks is how its minorities. And this does not mean the few thousand Greeks but also the Kurds.

There are around nine million Kurds in south-west Anatolia. The Turks refuse to give them the minority status which they are entitled to under international law.

This practice is in keeping with the dogma of Kemal Atatürk, the founder of the Turkish republic. He did not recognize the existence of ethnic groups. All the people within the borders were Turkish.

Brussels has no evidence of Ankara's readiness to recognise the Kurdish language or their traditional customs.

Last autumn, President Richard von Weizäcker received the Atatürk peace prize. He referred tactfully but unequivocally to his hosts problems with minorities.

The remarks caused annoyance. The Turkish press office had to censor them. The Bonn President's Office and the Foreign Minister, Hans-Dietrich Genscher, saw to it that Georg Negwer the German Ambassador, complained about the censoring.

Apart from some fundamentalist groups and some left-wing and right-wing groups, all parties favour membership. But since the application government opposition parties have become annoyed at Bonn's reaction.

The Germans are evaluating the application from the point of view of the financial and economic opportunities or problems which it might mean.

The Turkish opposition knows that membership would have economic benefits. But its interest is primarily in the liberalisation of society which would it would bring about.

Gerd Höhler

(Frankfurter Rundschau, 11 January 1988)

Continued from page 1

proach. Furthermore, it rejects existing Nato resolutions the Bonn government helped shape declaring that the limitation of both alliances to a mere defensive capacity and the elimination of the ability of an extensive offensive should be the objectives of talks with the East on the reduction of conventional forces.

Kohl took a sceptical view of the possibility of foreign policy cooperation between the various Bundestag parties.

The chances of success can only be ascertained via direct talks with the Opposition, which the Chancellor has consistently avoided so far.

In view of the objectives outlined by the Chancellor cooperation in this field is more urgent than ever before.

Wolf J. Bell

(General-Anzeiger Bonn, 12 January 1988)

Plans for free-trading market forces Scandinavian rethink

The European Community's intention of creating a internal frontier-free market by 1992 has forced the Nordic nations, Sweden, Iceland, Norway and Finland, to reconsider again whether they should become members of the Community.

Together they make up the majority of the EFTA nations, (the European Free Trade Association). The political and economic interests of the four diverge when it comes to relations to the "continent," as Europe is still called in Sweden. So it's difficult for them to agree about what to do with the Community.

Sweden's relationship is particularly ambivalent. Despite all the inherent contradictions the Swedes rule out membership.

A decree passed in 1971 says that membership would violate Sweden's neutrality.

The government has to find other ways of bringing the country closer to Europe. But the Swedes might get their fingers burnt if they stick to that position.

The Nordic countries are now worried they might lose valuable export markets if they don't conform to the community's regulations. On the other hand they also run the risk of losing their EFTA market, which is their most important one.

They now have to consider whether they want to work out a new common concept within EFTA, or to make a bilateral agreement.

A bilateral solution would make a lot of people happy. Scandinavians nations feel it is important to maintain Nordic cooperation. The relationship between them has been closer than those of EEC members.

Swedish industry has no doubts about the costs of not joining the Community. Businessmen say that the politicans have rejected the idea without having really presented the facts to the public.

The Trade Minister, Anita Gradin, replied that her government wanted an optimal agreement between Sweden and the EEC. She said she had by no means given up the idea of a customs-union. Admittedly, to be fair to industry, Brussels has yet to make any comment on the idea.

The diverging views of politicians and industry have become more intense.

Critics of EEC membership are saying that industry's interest in joining has less to do with the spirit of European integration and more with the mercenary holding on to current markets.

The debate is reminiscent of Denmark's in 1972. The bone of contention was not the European idea, but rather how Danish markets could be retained and financial advantages safeguarded.

Norway is biding its time on membership. They don't want a repetition of the emotion charged and at times spiteful debate of 1972.

Norway is, in contrast to Sweden, a member of Nato. She does not have to safeguard a policy of neutrality. Norway is the most likely candidate to become the second Nordic member of the Community, after Denmarkk.

Next might be Iceland, although it might out of nescessity have to negotiate a deal on special provisions as the Mediterranean countries have.

Iceland's 240,000 population is nearly completely dependent on fishing. Without special provisions it would hardly be viable.

Finland has a special neutrality policy which has to take into account the Soviet Union. Therefore it has ruled out membership of the European Community under any circumstances. Instead, it wants to intensify its bonds with other Nordic nations to avoid isolation.

Sweden cites Finnish fears with regard to a closed domestic market in the EEC as an opportunity to adjust and to protect export possibilites in important markets.

The course of the Nordic debate shows that they have given up notions of special agreements. They are now ruling out customs unions, membership of the European Monetary System and regional funding to solve their problems.

Instead it looks like a choice btween joining the European Community or going it alone outside of it.

Georg Ring

(Süddeutsche Zeitung, Munich, 8 January 1988)

FINANCE

That's really put the Birilig whirligig among the medium-sized pigeons

A bankruptcy caused by a set of cooked bank books in the days of the Weimar Republic in 1931 led to a tightening up of the laws governing accounts. After the war, the new Federal Republic passed a law called *Bilanzrichtlinien-Gesetz* (known as Birilig) which laid down auditing procedures. It made it compulsory for larger firms to audit and publish details of their accounts. Now Birilig has been tightened to include medium-sized firms. Peter Ziller looks behind Birilig for the *Frankfurter Rundschau*.

Every year thousands of auditors plough their way through the accounts of West German joint stock companies and numerous limited liability companies.

The much sought-after auditor's certificates are only qualified or refused in a few cases.

Does this mean that all the businesses which receive the official "seal of approval" are economically sound? Far from it.

The considerable number of bankruptcies, prominent "industrial accidents" such as the Herstatt bank, the construction machinery group IBH or the housing and construction group Neue Heimat, and, last but not least, the spectacular case of the electronic and household appliances giant AEG cast doubts upon the value of the auditors' decisions.

Admittedly, the auditing profession itself feels that it is the victim of a popular misunderstanding.

They emphasise that they are neither detectives nor the "guardian angels of the shareholders".

Their signature merely confirms that the figures presented in a firm's accounts comply with legal stipulations.

Many critics feel that the criteria for the issuing of an auditor's certificate should be tightened.

They complain about dubious discretionary powers and a lack of demarcation between the control and advisory aspects of the auditor's task.

Each year company accountants set about evaluating their company's performance during the past twelve months in terms of its annual accounts or its profit and loss statements.

The outcome of the auditing check also determines the company's internal and external image and decides how much shareholders can expect to receive and how much tax revenue is due.

Before the veil is lifted, however, the auditor steps in.

In the wake of the bankruptcy caused by a manipulation of the books at the Danat bank the politicians in the Weimar Republic came to the conclusion back in 1931 that trust is fine but that control is better.

Since then the accounting figures of the big companies have been checked by auditors.

Due to the amendment of the *Bilanzrichtlinien-Gesetz*, the West German accounting guidelines' law, the auditing provisions for the 1987 accounts have been substantially tightened.

All too frequently, however, the efforts of the army of auditors are to no avail.

"The auditor's certificate is not worth its price," says Hannes Streim, professor for accounting and public administration at the university of Trier.

Streim provocatively claims that the auditor's seal of approval is of little value if the provisions which serve as a yardstick for the issuing of this approval are themselves inadequate.

Thousands of shareholders, creditors, suppliers as well as employees who have lost money and more as a result of surprise bankruptcies would undoubtedly support this view.

The construction company Beton und Monierbau (BuM), the Gerling bank Herstatt, Esch's construction machinery holding company IBH and the Otto-Wolff subsidiary PBH Weserhütte, which is currently threatened by bankruptcy, all have one thing in common: the unqualified seal of approval was issued for all their accounts by an auditor.

The auditors in question seem unperturbed at the indignation which flared up following spectacular bankruptcies or, more recently, following the composition proceedings against AEG.

On the contrary, they feel misunderstood by the general public.

"The auditor's task is to ascertain whether the annual accounts figures are right or wrong, not whether they are good or bad," said Gerhard Gross, a departmental head at the Institute of Auditors (IDW), to which 90 per cent of the roughly 6,000 members of this profession belong.

One example illustrates the implications of this differentiation.

Up until the composition proceedings an auditor's certificate was issued for every balance sheet presented by AEG.

These certificates were issued even though every auditor knew that the quality of the annual accounts figures was more than questionable in view of the completely inadequate provisions for pensions.

The legal stipulations, which are fortunately much more precisely defined in the amended law, exempted any liabilities in the field of pension commitments from legal punishment.

The AEG accounts, therefore, were right but not good.

According to the IDW the auditor's certificate should by no means be viewed as a "judgement on the economic situation (of the firm) and management".

The IDW does not therefore share the opinion of university professor Adolf Möxter that compulsory auditing can also serve as an "indispensable instrument for the prevention of bankruptcies".

After the auditors moved into the line of fire following the BuM bankruptcy IDW secretary Horst Kaminski adopted the following stance:

"No accounts inspector can expect an auditor's certificate to remove the investment risks of a potential investor or the loan charge-off risk for creditors".

Kaminiski stresses, however, that the auditor's certificate does guarantee that the approval given is based on figures which comply with legal stipulations and statutory provisions.

This framework of auditing activity is correct yet restrictive.

The West German Joint Stock Company Law requires that the annual accounts statement provides "an accurate an insight as possible into a company's financial and earnings position".

The fact that this assessment is based on past figures and that the company's current situation may have changed completely makes this task all the more difficult.

The auditor concentrates on ensuring that the appraisal is made within the "framework of assessment provisions".

Professor Streim's sharp criticism is not so much levelled against the way auditors view their profession as against the inadequate legal foundations.

He is particularly critical of the leeway for various forms of accounting provided for by the legislation in this field.

He calls for an elimination of the possibility of choosing between straight-line depreciation or reducing-balance depreciation.

Streim would also like to see greater clarity on whether the value of an acquired enterprise has to be capitalised and how a premium is to be dealt with.

He would like to see more refusals of auditor's certificates or more certificates with qualifying remarks, as in the USA.

The fact that this is a more frequent occurrence in the USA does not mean that the companies there are less sound.

American auditors are often faced by the legal action of creditors who feel deceived by the auditor's evaluation of the financial situation of a given company.

A tighter system of liability results in greater caution and more warning remarks.

In the Federal Republic of Germany the auditors only opt for the last resort in rare instances.

A refusal to issue an auditor's certificate jeopardises a company's credit standing and thus its economic survival.

Gross estimates that on average only two certificates are refused each year,

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that qualifying remarks have been made in annual reports in between ten and twenty cases, and that auditing companies have made use of the possibility to make an additional remark in thirty or so cases.

The real struggle for the "right" balance sheet is not adequately reflected in the activity reports of the extremely well-paid "economic notaries".

Siegfried Weirich, for example, who is both a member of the IDW board and of the Treuarbeit organisation in Frankfurt maintains that it is by no means automatic for an annual balance sheet to be accepted.

An allusion to a possible qualification generally suffices to induce the company to use a different accounting approach, one insider claimed.

Whereas the general public only hears about one or two standard phrases used by auditors in each case the supervisory boards of the company in question receives a comprehensive report.

There are plenty of warning signs, therefore, but the smaller creditors have no access to this information.

Although the unquestionable power, first-class training and strict professional regulations guarantee respect for the auditors they cannot spare them sceptical criticism.

"A balance sheet approved by an auditor is a necessary precondition, but by no means an adequate condition for the granting of loans," one of Frankfurt's big banks pointed out.

The banks automatically gather more updated information on performance indicators and branch comparisons before lending money.

Furthermore, cases have been confirmed of auditor's certificates granted as a favour.

The independence of the inspecting auditors from their clients is not undisputed.

In the case of the joint stock company the supervisory board suggests which auditors should be chosen at the annual general meeting.

In 1983 Professor Christian Flämig, who taught tax law at the university of Marburg at the time, expressed the opinion in the *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung für Deutschland* that the "sergeant-majors of industry" (a definition used by Eugen Schmalenbach) had unfortunately "become advisers and friends of the supervisory boards they inspect out of consideration for the continuity of their auditing contracts".

Flämig, who now works for the Darmstadt-based chemicals group Merck, merely voiced the view expressed by the Federal Supreme Court, which stated in a court decision in March 1975 that auditors have the task of "representing the economic interests of certain groups of industry" and that "doubts in personal indpendence" rule out a partnership with a notary.

This touches on a sore point.

The big auditing societies, ranging from the Deutsche Treuhand society and the Treuarbeit, whose business volumes exceed DM100m, to the US turnover billionaires Arthur Andersen or Peat, Marwick, Mitchell, which are extremely active on the German market, have long since become successful consultancy enterprises, advising their clients on company acquisitions, tax problems and reorganisation.

These "sidelines" often account for more revenue than auditing activities.

This lucrative side-by-side is a thorn in the flesh of many critics.

Streim supports Flämig by adding that "the legislator should have drawn a clearer distinction".

Streim is concerned that an auditing company may have qualms about auditing accounts for a firm it perhaps previously advised on a takeover bid.

Dieter Pfefferer, the deputy secretary of the Auditors Association, dismissed such doubts as "nonsense".

He feels that the circumstances under which auditing should not be allowed (for example, when the same company helped compile the accounts) are satisfactorily outlined in Section 319 of the Commercial Code.

The legal provisions only cast doubts about the auditor's ability to remain independent if the auditing company or auditor received "over half of their total revenue during the past five years" from the client in question.

One top manager in the auditing business feels that the criterion for possible dependence is too broad.

According to Gross individual clients generally account for five to six per cent of an auditing company or auditor's turnover.

The auditing branch itself is not keen on dropping the possibility of working in two fields. As consultants, one argu-

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INDUSTRY

Diversification begins to change the face of the old coal-and-steel Ruhr

In the 1950s, every third worker in the Ruhr was employed in coal or steel. Now it is every eighth. Steel is now diversifying to meet the restructuring needs of the late 20th century. Steel makers are moving into steel products and even further afield: into telescopes, radio systems, various fields of technology, even insurance. In this article, Paul Bellinghausen looks at the changes for *Rheinische Merkur/Christ und Welt*.

For a long time, steel industry managers were leaders in progress. The steelworks in the Ruhr were the most productive in Europe.

If they are now endangered, the only explanation is that competing industries in other European Community countries are kept alive by heavy subsidies.

Steel managers drew their conclusions from this distortion of competition a long time ago. They have moved into manufacturing — usually by buying up other firms — and into sectors of industry unrelated to steel, shedding their mono-structure in the process.

They do not talk all that much about what they are doing. Few people know, for instance, that Hoesch of Dortmund operates the oldest German software organisation — subsidiary Mathematischer Beratungs- und Programmierungsdienst, or mbp.

This subsidiary, one of the largest software and systems organisations in the Federal Republic, has recently extended its activities into telecommunications.

Specialists at mbp were involved in project management in the development of the Spacelab for the Space Shuttle.

It is not commonly known that Hoesch is involved, through subsidiaries and shareholdings in companies, in the manufacture of steel beer kegs, office and warehousing buildings constructed of steel, roof windows for private housing, escalators and excavators.

Few also know that this steel company is involved in industrial and private insurance.

Then, who knows that Hoesch is a leading international manufacturer of motor vehicle suspension units?

What is true of Hoesch is generally true of all steel companies in the Ruhr. None are abandoning steel, but concentrating on promising steel products, at the same time turning away from a mono-structure and diversifying.

Domestically Hoesch steel sales now account for only 40 per cent of turnover.

Thyssen, totally identified with steel, has moved into new fields of activity. The concern's new activities are concentrated on Thyssen Industrie, based in Essen, and are gaining in importance all the time.

Products newly developed and improved over the past five years now account for 40 per cent of turnover.

Mannesmann was early in the field of diversification by systematically acquiring new companies. Important companies such as Demag, Hartmann & Braun, Kienzle and, since last year, Fichtel & Sachs, are now under the Mannesmann umbrella.

Production includes directional radio systems, shock absorbers, clutches, EDP and automated petrol pumps.

Most people are quite unaware of this dramatic change in the make-up of steel companies. The public does not know, for instance, that in the past few years Krupp has consistently gone in for diversification.

Recently a super-radio telescope went into operation at Pico de Veleta in the Sierra Nevada, Spain, built by Krupp and MAN.

Who knows that Krupp has been involved in parabola antennae construction, has produced electronic control systems and that West German Radio at Langenberg oversees a dozen transmitter posts with an electronic control system developed by Krupp?

It is equally little known that Krupp produces sprinkler equipment and that it is possible to survey the seabed with considerable accuracy now with an echo-sounder developed by Krupp.

These diversification activities are certainly not confined to North-Rhine Westphalia. Kienzle is headquartered now in Villingen-Schwenningen and Hartmann & Braun in Frankfurt.

The steel companies have not bypassed North Rhine-Westphalia, although the economic zig-zag course pursued by the state government in Düsseldorf under the present prime minister, Johannes Rau, and previous prime minister, Heinz Kühn, has not made it easy to come to investment decisions.

But in any case North Rhine-Westphalia benefits from the involvement of the steel industry in operations outside the state.

Protests by Ruhr steelworkers given wide coverage on television do not alter the fact that the coal and steel industry no longer has the importance for North Rhine-Westphalia that it did twenty or thirty years ago.

In the 1950s every third worker in the Ruhr was employed in the coal and steel industries: now it is every eighth and the tendency is downwards.

In turnover terms iron and steel producing industries take third place in the state, after chemicals and engineering. Mining has eighth place.

In terms of numbers employed steel is at fifth place, after engineering, chemicals, electrical engineering and mining.

Not enough attention has yet been paid to office equipment and data-processing, precision engineering and optics.

In the lengthy discussions about coal and steel all too easily it is overlooked that North Rhine-Westphalia is the most important centre for mechanical engineering in the Federal Republic and is among the leaders, along with Bavaria and Baden-Württemberg, in the electrical engineering industry.

The mix of industries in North Rhine-Westphalia may not be ideal, but it is not so catastrophic as critics outside the state would have it.

The situation would be better were it not that for a long time there has been an unholy alliance between the coal and steel industries, the unions (the mining union and the engineering union) and the state government that has hampered the settlement of new industries into the state.

But those times are past. The state now has an excellent infrastructure with an extensive network of road, rail and inland waterway connections.

An important feature for the future is the university education available in the state. There are more scientists in North Rhine-Westphalia now than there were twenty years ago. The increasing level of academic training could be an important motivating force for technical and economic changes in the state.

For twenty years the Düsseldorf government has rejected the idea that the loss of jobs in the state was the consequence of modern technology.

Men like the state's Economic Affairs Minister Reimut Jochimsen have now come out strongly for more innovation, because this will create or retain workplaces. That's how the times have changed.

But innovation will not bring about full employment on the Rhine and in the Ruhr. The association of North Rhine-Westphalia chambers of commerce made an analysis along these lines in 1985.

The association did not go along with the idea that the introduction of more innovation in all sectors would put the state's industry, in the long term, in a technically leading position and so present North Rhine-Westphalia with a way out of its present difficulties.

The influence of such a course would only have its effect for a limited period of time. The competition would always accelerate efforts to exceed the lead achieved or create a lead in other sectors.

The association does not want this to be taken as an argument against innovation, vital in many sectors of the state's industry but in itself not enough.

This study pointed out that North Rhine-Westphalia's poor showing in development was linked to its susceptibility to competition, its considerable dependence on international trade and the price sensitivity of many products in North Rhine-Westphalia's dominant sectors — coal, steel and chemical raw materials.

If one wants to stop the loss of jobs in manufacturing industry priority must be given to economic policies aimed at reducing costs, especially wage costs. It must not be forgotten that wage levels in North Rhine-Westphalia are well above the national average.

A decisive factor is that conditions must be created under which industry increases its personnel rather than capital, unlike the case in the past.

More specifically, real wage increases (wage increases minus inflation) must remain under productivity growth until the employment position allows higher wage increases again.

To make this palatable to workers in North Rhine-Westphalia their restraint in wage demands could be compensated for by increased participation in new company share issues.

It would obviously be difficult to make clear to a man such as the IG Metall leader Franz Steinkühler that Daimler-Benz wages in Baden-Württemberg are not suitable for North Rhine-Westphalia.

Paul Bellinghausen

(Rheinischer Merkur/Christ und Welt, Bonn, 8 January 1988)

SPACE RESEARCH

Europe treads warily into a future as the critics become less strident



The European Space Agency has decided on an ambitious manned space programme which will form an important part of a joint European operation to put researcher-astronauts into space. But it has run into its fair share of criticism. Critics say the costs outweigh the benefits.

At issue is an estimated DM66bn which the Germans reckon they will have to contribute up to the end of the century. About DM30bn would go on three European space projects: the Hermes space shuttle, the Columbus space station and the Ariane-5 launcher rocket.

Hermes is a French designed mini-shuttle which is being offered to Esa as an addition to the Ariane 5 rocket which would launch it.

Hermes is the key to Europe's future role in space. The shuttle will be 49.2 ft long and have a wingspan of 32.8ft. It will carry a payload of about three tonnes and have an ejection capsule that the crew of three will use in emergencies.

France has so far paid about 60 per cent of the cost of developing Ariane, West Germany 20 per cent and Britain three.

It will go on missions to a manned space laboratory and will stay in space about a month. It will stay linked up for about three weeks. Experts say it will remain operational for about 15 years.

Space programmes over the last three decades have been expensive. But slowly the spin-offs became visible enough to silence critics who wanted the money for other areas.

Scientists quoted examples like teflon coated non-stick frying pans, a direct result of space technology, as practical new novelties in peoples lives.

Today we are surrounded by space technology. Television viewers see weather reports everyday transmitted by our European weather satellite.

Damaged environments can be analysed by other satellites in outer space. People can telephone Hong Kong from New York with a good clear connection. And if Boris Becker is playing in a distant country then a satellite of one kind or another will pass the signal onto German television.

Esa's unmanned space and satellite technology programme has been run successfully. It has met with almost universal support. Even the Greens support further development of the Ariane launcher-rocket.

So how does one explain the coalition of conservatives, Social Democrats, Greens and firms not directly involved in the programme, which have sprouted up?

Apart from the costs, critics say the venture is unnecessary. One could reach the same results with unmanned space ships. They also say the launch is dangerous, diverts funds from other research and that the cost of the enterprise is out of proportion to it's value.

Experts reckon that inflation will drive costs up to DM100bn. West Germany intends to have a 28 per cent holding. Therefore if inflation hits, it will end up spending DM20bn more than originally planned.

On the other hand supporters of an independent European system say that apart from the immediate practical value for numerous areas of research, the mission is politically necessary if Europeans want to close the technological gap with the Americans and the Japanese.

If Europe wants to be competitive it has to make progress in fields such as the research of crystals, pharmaceuticals, photography and electronics. Weightlessness is an ideal environment for this.

Esa coordinates European participation in space. But it is not a concerted undertaking like the EEC. Instead it's an informal research and development organisation made up of 13 states which include Belgium, France, Denmark, West Germany, Ireland, Italy, Holland, Spain, Britain, Sweden, Switzerland, Austria and Norway. Finland is an associate member. Canada is taking part on a cooperative basis.

None of the individual nations could afford to match the space budgets of the Americans or Russians. The agency gives Europeans the chance to compete and to develop solidarity.

Esa's informality enables it to reach quick and uncomplicated decisions. Unlike the EEC, it's not necessary to have unanimity. So long drawn out negotiations are avoided.

The only compulsory programme is the basic scientific research one. The nations base their contributions on their gross national product.

Participation in other developments is voluntary. Only whoever takes part has a say. The costs are carried in relation to a nation's participation.

Bonn financed 50 per cent of its Spacelab in this way. Whereas Paris put up the lion's share of costs for the development and construction of the Ariane launcher-rocket.

The palette of activities ranges from space research to news and weather reports and from the launcher programme to the mannned flights.

Esa has had its fair share of success. In 1986 it managed to put 14 satellites into orbit. Giotto was one of their most spectacular successes. On 13 March 1986 Gitto observed Halley's comet from a distance of 600 km and sent back outstanding pictures.

The development and construction of the European Spacelab, which was constructed for American space-flights, was also a great success. In 1983 Esa put the first Spacelab enterprise successfully into space with the German astronaut Ulf Merbold.

Esa is developing a space telescope called Ulysses. The Americans and the Europeans want to station a telescope in space which will enable more research on the sun and see deeper into the unknown space.

The agency plans to station a data relay station as part of its space infrastructure programme. It will relay the telecommando signals to and from future space stations and low orbiting satellites.

This programme and Ariane, its French built rocket, have given Esa a lot of success. The advantages of the Europeans' flexibility can be seen in this venture.

Esa is opening up steadily to more commercial possibilities in space alongside the purely scientific ones.

Ariane space, the European launcher-rocket company, was founded on a commercial basis as a kind of charter company for satellites.

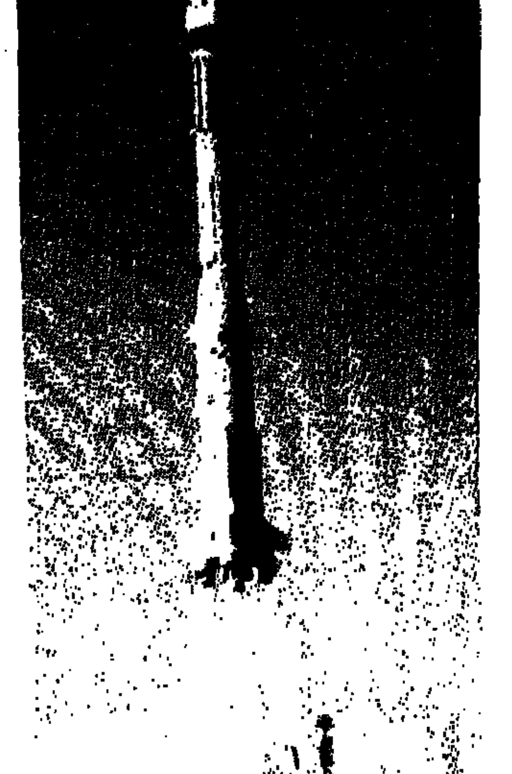
Since the Challenger disaster, Europeans have practically no competitors at the moment. Ariane 3 is the only western rocket which can carry heavy commercial satellites.

Ariane's order book is now full with 50 contracts. A launch costs between DM50m and DM100m. This is about 20 per cent more expensive than her Russian or Chinese competitors.

The European rocket company can make about DM5bn out of this monopoly in the next five years.

But the Europeans don't want to let it rest there. Their space budget is still very modest in comparison to America's or Russia's

In 1985 the Americans had a budget of DM66bn. Europe has to make do with the same amount up to the end of the century. The European space travel organisation has a budget of DM3b. This includes the programmes which Esa is carrying out for other organisations.



Space everywhere, but not enough for more orders . . . Ariane (Photo: Sven Simon)

Despite empty tills the Esa research ministers have been able to agree on the programme. They have admittedly made cut backs on its proposed long term space programme. Scientists have to sink costs by 15 to 20 per cent.

But at the same time the ministers made the politically important decision to risk starting the programme for manned missions. By doing this they voted for European independence in space and technology.

The supporters of manned missions, who are in all the political parties, say that Hermes and Columbus make sense.

Participation would be in keeping with the logic of European space politics, which wants greater autonomy from America.

If the Americans were to use the Columbus space-station for military purposes, the Europeans would drop out of the project.

The statutes of Esa rule out military activity. If Europe wants to rescue its investment and to have Columbus as an independent unit in space, it will need a transporter like Hermes.

The Americans and Europeans are negotiating about the rights and possibilities of Europeans should they particpate. The Europeans will make a final decision about their participation in the Columbus programme when the negotiations are over.

Whereas Esa is committed to building the large Ariane 5 rocket, it's keeping open the possibility of dropping out in the Hermes and Columbus projects.

In the Hague, Esa agreed to particpate in the programmes first three years of development. Only when the chances of success of participation are calculable will there be a final decision on whether the countdown goes on.

Thomas Gack

(Stuttgarter Zeitung, 5 January 1988)

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ment runs, a greater insight into the company's activities is possible.

What is more, greater familiarity makes sure that an "outside" auditor is not duped.

The managing director of one leading company even supported the idea that auditing companies should be connected with a client for longer than is usually the case (one year).

"This could strengthen the independence of our employees," he said, indirectly suggesting that auditors might be more critical if they were not permanently bothered by their fear of losing a follow-up contract,

Although Streim accepted the fact that frequent changing of clients may lead to a loss of competence he nevertheless called for a periodic change to other companies.

Whereas auditing only has a limited benefit for third parties it is highly rated inside the companies.

What other explanation is there for the fact that over 70 per cent of the roughly 15,000 to 20,000 limited liability companies now covered by the new accounting guidelines law already employed auditors anyway.

Above all, the managers of distant parent or group companies feel that auditing is well worth the investment in order to gain a reliable insight into the activities of their subsidiaries.

The organisational early warning function within a company, however, is not always successful.

In one prominent case a company's supervisory board simply refused to give an appointment to their auditor, who is legally bound to report any inconsistencies he may have discovered to the company being inspected.

In the case of the Neue Heimat housing and construction group the internal auditors frequently misread the writing on the wall before the group went bankrupt.

Peter Ziller

(Frankfurter Rundschau, 9 January 1988)

■ DRAMA

Earning marks towards Abitur and having a good time as well

Drama courses are offered in Berlin and Hamburg and pupils can gain marks for the Abitur (university entrance examination) in drama courses. Drama is included in the curriculum in Bavaria. In the Rhineland-Palatinate pupils cannot make up poor marks in one subject by good marks in drama. Even if they put on a play and rehearse until ten in the evening and build sets they still have to do tests and written work.

She looked about her. Her accusing cries were shrill and bloodcurdling as she threw herself to the ground sobbing.

"Yes, I am both, Shui Ta and Shen Te. Your former command, to do good and live on, tore me in half as if by lightning."

Norbert Kiefer, who is directing the acting, scratched his head, raised his eyebrows, looked at his colleague, Ilse-Marie Peris, and shook his head and said: "No, Brigitte, less theatrical, do not express the pain so much, and if you throw yourself to the ground don't do it like a Chinese kowtow. Let's do the last scene again."

Everything is chaotic: notebooks, books and magazines are scattered all over the green metal table. In between the coffee machine and plastic cups there are potato chips, a crumpled hat and a pair of running shoes. A wheelchair (used later for a descent of the Brecht gods) stands in the way.

No-one present smokes but nevertheless a washing basket is full of cigarette and cigar packets, props for a small tobacco shop in Setzuan.

Rehearsals are underway for Brecht's *The Good Woman of Setzuan* in a hut not far from the school. There are schoolchildren on stage.

The rehearsals began at one, when school had finished. It is now almost five in the afternoon.

There is again much talk about German school drama. There were 204 groups taking part in "Theatertreffen der Jugend '87." No place is too small, no stage too tiny, no experiment impossible among school groups.

Schoolboys and girls dare to take on the heavy stuff and they have no respect for the big names.

Norbert Kiefer and Ilse-Marie Peris, drama teachers at the Eduard Spranger Gymnasium (high school) in Landau, have learned that they will have a go at anything from Schiller's "Wallenstein" to Rolf Hochhuth's "The Physicians."

Both have been involved in school drama for ten years and have brought it up to a high level. They have put in a lot of work and involvement to reach the guideline targets for school drama that have been drawn up, by getting people to work together, creativity and a receptivity to experience.

School drama is a good antidote to the stress of school studies. Schoolboys and girls who have taken part in school drama are more receptive, more confident and active in classroom work.

Herr Kiefer said: "It is not a question of creating stars, but of discovering and developing abilities among schoolchildren that normally would lie fallow."

The two drama teachers do not demand amateur theatre with studied roles where young actors or actresses jump around and declaim lines just to suit themselves. They want creativity with a bent towards perfection, letting off steam with discipline.

Most federal states have regular drama get-togethers. There are a variety of regional festivals, particularly in the heavily-populated areas.

In secondary schools, that are wooing the declining number of children of school age, school drama is no longer a popular activity but an important aspect of an attractive school image.

Schoolgirl Steffi expressed it in this way: "What we have to swot at in German lessons is fun on the stage."

Steffi is an old theatre-hand. She has played Shakespeare and Chekhov, Max Fritsch and now Shui Ta in the Brecht play.

"I used to be shy in school," she said, "then I was given the part of Puck in 'A Midsummer Night's Dream.' Since then I have gained a lot in confidence."

Heike, another schoolgirl, had the same experience. She said: "I'm no longer worried about expressing myself in front of other people. Acting has made me confident and helped me to go out and meet people."

School drama is theatre without season tickets, without a première, without dinner jackets, not so perfect but nevertheless just as exciting as "real" theatre.

The starting point is the selection of the play. Three were considered: Eugène Ionesco's *The Rhinoceros*, Max Frisch's *The Chinese Wall* and even Brecht.

Norbert Kiefer said: "After the entertainment of 'A Midsummer Night's Dream' we looked for a contrast. We discussed the matter and took a democratic vote. The majority came out for 'The Good Woman.' There are also a lot of roles in this play."

The most difficult aspect of school drama is filling the main roles. "No-one is afraid of learning the parts. We read individual parts, play out various scenes and the roles quickly develop," Norbert Kiefer explained.

Ideal people were available for the Brecht parts, which is a lucky accident. Brigitte plays Shen Te. She is 18, gentle with the face of a madonna. She pronounces the "s" sibilantly.

Christian is also a find. He plays the water-seller. He is 18, wears grey overalls, his shoulders stoop and he has a sad voice. He carries out-moded pesticide equipment on his back.

He not only acts on stage but has re-set the Brecht songs to music, arranging them for a four-man band. He constantly changes places between the stage and the piano.

His music is catchy and lively. The song about exploitation, "Eight elephants," is set to rock music. It is a chance for the young audience to clap in time.

And what of Brecht, the social critic? Norbert Kiefer accepts the schoolboys' and girls' interpretation. He said: "For me the music is sometimes too entertainment-oriented. Many of our schoolboys and girls don't take too much interest in Brecht. The action is the more important for them, not the social intention."

Ilse-Marie Peris added: "Schoolboys and girls have different requirements from us and we don't go into every point in great detail. You don't have to cope with Brecht with too much deadly earnestness."

Nevertheless they try to achieve a certain level, and certainly do not turn their production of the play into a superficial farce.

The "catastrophe" is brought to an end with a dress rehearsal in the school entrance hall. The première takes place in two days' time. Hardly anything came off as it should have done.

The grandfather had not learned his lines properly, the gods appeared on the stage too soon, evil Shui Te was far too benevolent and the street-lights did not light up because the "stage-hands" were playing around with the make-up.

Some of the few people attending the rehearsal smiled when the sick "unemployed man" accepted a cigar from the well-meaning Shen Te and began to cough at the first puff. A 12-year-old commented: "He can't smoke," and almost laughed himself to death.

It is quite possible that on the first night people will laugh in the wrong places. Ilse-Marie Peris has had that happen. But what is "right" and what is "wrong?"

School drama means experiencing something, enjoying it, having fun, a diversion. There is enough boredom in the routine of ordinary daily lessons.

It is six o'clock on the first night. The play is to be performed in the school foyer. A white sheet marks out the acting area, the stage curtain is hung between two class-room doors. A lecture room serves as wardrobe, make-up room and rest room.

Shen Te, alias Maren, pushes herself behind a school desk. She is playing a typical prostitute, pink stockings, blue pumps, a dark-red top with an artificial fur round her neck. Before she put on her make-up she began hiccupping suddenly. The first members of the audience begin to arrive and make their way into the foyer.

Jochen, the gaunt, pale philosopher god who later mixes in the action on earth and comes out of it, said: "Have you blue? I need a coloured eye."

Ruth, in the 12th class, does the make-up. She has to get lip-stick, artificial eye-lashes, eye shadow, powder puffs, mirrors, combs and scissors before the performance. She is helped by Corinna.

She said mischievously: "I help to mess up the people a bit." She enthusiastically began her last job, touching up foreheads wet with perspiration from the excitement. Everyone knows that the show is sold out. That eggs everyone on. Everyone hopes the audience will be good and that everything goes off all right.

Norbert Kiefer called out: "Are the gods ready? When will Wang be ready?" There is a last look in the mirror, hands are clasped in encouragement. There are gentle notes from the xylophone and the lights are dimmed.

Three and a half hours later all is forgotten, lines, breathing exercises, the continuous rehearsing, much annoyance and many tears.

The girls curtsey and the boys bow to the applause. That's a good thing. Applause is like warm summer rain. You have to enjoy it because the next morning its back to lessons.

Paul Schwarz

(Rheinischer Merkur/Christ und Welt, Bonn, 24 December 1987)

■ MUSIC

Cosima Wagner, a woman of the world and ruler of the house

When Richard Wagner met Cosima Liszt in October 1853, it was not love at first sight. He only remarked that she was terribly shy. It would have made no difference what he said. Cosima did not understand a word of German.

She soon took care to familiarise herself with the world of *Tannhäuser* and *Lohengrin*, which did not concern itself particularly with the pretty ceremonies of elegant conversation.

But Cosima, born 150 years ago on 24 December 1837, clung to elegance. She wanted to be the perfect lady. She was brought up to it.

Even in her dealings with God in her youth she preserved an aristocratic independence. She made up her mind that she would not be submissive even in prayer. She said that God loved only the proud.

Franz Liszt and his former companion, her mother, the Comtesse d'Agoult, saw Cosima's future as being appropriately a part of the genuine, old aristocracy.

Liszt, the artist, three years older than Wagner, lived for his own freedom. He did not like the bourgeoisie from which he had escaped.

Cosima did not know the bourgeois milieu. When she met people of the middle-classes in her mother's salon they were artists, Hector Berlioz, Frédéric Chopin, Charles-Pierre Baudelaire, Ivan Turgenev, Georges Sand or Gustav Flaubert.

Aristocratic freedom was linked to *artistic* freedom: the artist, advanced to genius, the intrepid individual, acknowledged and honoured, the purest expression of independence.

Cosima was proud of her father, whom she hardly ever met. He was a free artist. She was also proud of her mother because she enchanted society with her bewitching grace, conquering with her intelligent charm.

As an aristocrat Cosima knew that there was nothing so unaristocratic as a lack of faith. She cultivated her religious nature with distinguished deep feeling. She hoped that a refined aesthetic sense would come from this. She expected God's revelation in art, particularly music.

She came from the wide world to a small one, to Berlin. Her father, continuously in dispute with his former companion, the Countess, eventually took the children away from her.

Cosima was handed over to the Baroness Franziska von Bülow, a tough, narrow-minded woman, whose disposition was as dry as the Mark of Brandenburg.

Her son, Hans, was an artist. His artistic inclinations upset the limited outlook of the impoverished, provincial aristocracy.

Cosima sneered at the inelegant manners in Berlin. She fled with Hans von Bülow into another world — art, that is into music drama.

She was a Wagnerian and for that reason married von Bülow, for Wagner meant a way to freedom. Bülow was, however, as the proud and ambitious Cosima soon found out, only an interpretive genius. He was a conductor and pianist.

She fell in love with Wagner on her honeymoon trip in 1857. But it was six years before Hans von Bülow found himself in the tragic role of King Mark and frankly complained: "Where is there trust on earth if Tristan betrays me."

Tristan and Isolde, that is Richard and Cosima, had in their mind's eye for a long time betrayed their most trusted friend.

Bülow was indeed the truest of friends, as servant of the aesthetic Messiah and cavalier of every lady he had won for the prophet of artistic redemption. He covered up the Richard-Cosima affair long enough and they repaid him with a total lack of consideration.

Richard's love for Cosima was the greatest scandal that the bourgeois world had known. Cosima had found her role; to serve art, religion made aesthetic, people with aesthetic perceptions, if she gave way, without delay, to her loving instinct, like Isolde, like Brünhilde, entrusting herself blissfully to him.

She became at the same time a character out of the clever world of martyrs, Wagner's somnabulists; lost in love and seeking redemption.

Gottfried Benn (1886-1956), the son of a Protestant minister, who knowingly fled from the prosaic bourgeois world, shook his head in the face of such carnal spirituality. He said: "Firstly they behaved like pigs and then they wanted to be redeemed."

Cosima, the perfect lady, was full of propriety. She was indifferent to criticism. She achieved her greatest wish without any trouble, receiving even the public word of honour of a king for her marital faithfulnes, which she had broken a long time ago.

She was not frightened of Ludwig II's anger. He was duped in this comedy of tangled souls, in which only two knew what they wanted, Cosima and Richard.

The others, Wagner's wife, Minna, his beloved Mathilde Wesendonk, whose husband along with Hans von Bülow and, at the periphery, Friedrich Nietzsche, had to go along with the inevitable.

Nietzsche found his Ariadne in Cosima, although he was not her Dionysus.

Ludwig's anger could have ruined Wagner's life. With an imperial attitude



she put everything to the service of her lover, whom she served, for whom she sacrificed her marriage.

She was able to reconcile all the people who were confused and duped. She made it a duty to serve what no-one could betray: his work, the work of art of the future.

Everyone capitulated before her self-certainty, her self-righteousness, before her grace and disciple, which was proved by an extreme lack of discipline,

Good society, aristocratic society, quickly forgot the external circumstances of this "amour fou." Cosima triumphed over everyone. She was the mistress of the Master.

But there was still a thorn in her side, her jealousy of Mathilde Wesendonk.

Mathilde had inspired the Master in his sublime drama of love and passion, in Tristan and Isolde.

The love drama of Tristan and Isolde, forgetting the world by drinking an elixir, love through death, all that Richard and Cosima had sworn to each other, was and remained linked to the memory of another, a bourgeois woman, the wife of a merchant. Cosima, otherwise sovereign of all she surveyed, never understood the comical that was inherent in this; she could not comprehend that a happy way out of the Tristan and Isolde situation into reality lay in marriage. Cosima, who broke every trust to remain true to her love, demanded formal protestations of love daily from Richard. She talked continuously about death in love, about one coffin for them both. He had to re-assure her unendingly of his love. "We live so long as we love one another — it is terrible. We shall never die."



Propriety amid scandal . . . Cosima and Richard Wagner.
(Photo: Ullstein)

If she wanted to be Isolde, but was not, she had the last word as Brünhilde.

She tirelessly arranged his life, arranged his thoughts, she organised, so that what he deemed as a madness for Hans Sachs became a reality, the festival, the Festspielhaus in Bayreuth.

Cosima, the woman of the world, the diplomat, the absolute ruler over minds, ruled Richard as well, for whom she obtained freedom in which he obeyed her.

Wagner was a Bohemian before he knew Cosima, a special Bohemian — he loved luxury. Cosima also loved luxury but not disorder.

Whether Wagner liked it or not he had gradually to get used to living with princes and princesses.

However, his effevescent nature never succeeded in adjusting to this elevated, elegant tone. He always remained what he was, a revolutionary against his century, which he dispised far too much, to become in his last years a grand seigneur.

When she had recovered from the blow of his death in Venice, there was only one thing left for her in life: to save his work that she had made possible.

She made Bayreuth what it has remained; a place dedicated to the memory of Richard Wagner.

She subjected conductors, singers and stage designers to her own interests, to produce his works on the stage "authentically," as Wagner himself, possibly, would have liked them produced.

She was the first woman to push her way into the male world of directors and she maintain her position there.

She alone ruled what was authentic. She was indifferent to developments outside Bayreuth.

Like Richard she dispised theatre routine. Bayreuth was to be an anti-theatre, in liberating contrast to modern taste.

Her sharpest critics, and they extended from Shaw to Schönberg, allowed themselves to be overpowered by her, perhaps only for moments, but then, as it is said, for moments they lived in paradise.

As mistress of the Master she gave herself a free hand with his works but not arbitrarily. Bayreuth was to become something like the Comédie francaise, exemplary as regards gestures, declamation and stage sets.

She knowingly aspired to a singing style that was certainly not what Wagner intended. He knew and loved Bellini. He made it clear that he did not want the bellowing of consonants.

She took Wagner strictly at his word as far as the action and dramatic moment was concerned, but not unconditionally his conversion to beautiful, expressive singing.

She was the original mother of the theatre director. As such she ruled without restriction in Bayreuth with knowledgeable exactness according to her idea of what the Master wanted.

She drew up from his writings, associations and ideas a contemporary religion of art and made of Bayreuth a place for world redemption, a Lourdes for people of sensibility, who sought there a way to a better and more beautiful world.

For Wagner the stage remained always theatre, despite the romantic intention of melting togther art and religion. He saw in the artist the prophet of social-aesthetic ennoblement.

Cosima, who since her youth had placed her religious nature in the service of art, eventually found in *Parsifal*, compressed into a catechism; that which led to redemption from banality and moral stupidity.

Her religious nature moved from the Roman to the Lutheran, in which Wagner, with his free sense of religion, wanted to discern a free, aesthetic enthusiasm.

The widow of an artist, who reigned supreme in her world, bustled about as the guardian of his kingdom.

She administered the mysteries of a "weltanschauung," and superior people, certainly not all, were to be led to be true noble souls and to self-redemption.

As heiress of the 19th century she served the supreme hope that Wagner sought to fulfill, the hope of a new mythology, with which he would subjugate the world and interpreted it.

Cosima's lasting service was to make him an international event, from being a stimulator of the avantgarde movement to a destroyer of every possible artistic ideology.

Eberhard Straub

(Stuttgarter Zeitung, 23 December 1987)

■ GROWING UP

Literary, drawing contest reveals youthful thoughts



Opinion pollsters, sociologists and psychologists know everything about our young people, everything about changed values and mental crises, *heroes and idols, about sexuality and* love, the parental home and school, mixing with people and isolation, readiness to do well and frustration, about adjustment and dropping out.

But what do we really know about our young people, when we know all this but we don't know why "our child" is so depressed for days on end?

Why don't young people get a chance to speak for themselves? This was the view of Hesse Education Minister Karl Schneider who invited schoolchildren *from classes 7 to 10 (from* about 13 or 14 to 18 or 19) from schools providing a general education to take part in a literary and drawing competition.

The response was enormous, for 1,400 schoolchildren produced 500 essays and 900 pictures on the theme "Find, invent a person..."

A book with that title has been published of 42 especially successful stories and *poems and 160 drawings.*

Artistic merit apart, this gives impressive evidence of what is important to young people, what they hold in contempt, what they believe and what they dream about.

If you go into the stories of Marie and of the Wind Witch, the Man at the Bus Stop and Friend August, it can be seen that they are all written primarily from the heart. Antoine de Saint-Exupéry said that one could only see correctly with the heart.

According to the author of the story about the Little Prince fundamentals are invisible to the eye. Eloquent Jesuit Father Johannes Leppich accused mothers and fathers of "having a callous over their souls." This is not true of the offspring of these parents so scolded by the good Father.

Quite the contrary. In their texts and drawings they showed sensibility and perplexity — *in fashionable accord with* social trends. They showed themselves to be involved in life and the sufferings *of their fellow man.*

They are involved and spell out happiness not just as a career. Their truth is, like the truth of every young person, radical and is not open to compromise.

If these young boys and girls would like to separate themselves in many things from previous generations, in their dreams of love, happiness and security, of sincerity and fairness they are *all alike. And they are all full of feeling.*

By far the largest number of competition texts (180) were involved with what is most important for young people, with the realities of living, with friends, fellow pupils and comrades.

Although they did not generally include major social crisis situations — the question of unemployment was only dealt with in two of the texts — there were among the other texts some examples of impressive "social reporting."

It seems that young people look more closely if it comes to the question why this or that fellow pupil does not fit into school class society.

They do not look at this with the eyes *of the distant, cool, observing analyst,* but ready to get involved and be sympathetic.

The jury, in its assessment of the competition, came to the conclusion that all the texts always expressed "sympathy, almost always in a positive sense."

Nina, 15, wrote: "Marie's mother slaves away all day as a charwoman. In the evenings she works in a pub. But they were always poor. Marie's father drank and squandered money on his *friends. But it wasn't always like that for* Marie, or was it? Hasn't her father always been a drinker? I know that you have always loved him. You could never bear to hear people talking badly about him. Yes, Marie. Now everything is over. Did you really go to heaven, or is that also just gossip?"

In the book 130 stories, short pieces, letters and diary extracts deal with parents, *30 texts deal with grandparents* and just a few about small children.

Surprisingly there were few contributions dealing with a person who could be regarded as an idol. Only 20 devoted themselves to sportsmen (Boris Becker), musicians and pop groups.

Young people obviously do not have much access to figures from history or politics, to major artists, scientists and inventors. Texts dealing with Anne Frank, Sophie Scholl, Caesar, Napoleon and Hitler were exceptions.

There were also only a few "productions" that were based on fantasy. Educators can draw their conclusions from that.



Facing up to life . . . two entries, both pencil drawings.

(From: *Finde, erfinde eine Person* . . . HIBS, Wiesbaden)

And what do educationalists, mothers and fathers say about the fact that the visual world of their children — 905 drawings were submitted — hardly draws a smile and rarely shows a happy face?

Leafing through the book, obtainable *from the Hesse Institute for Educational* Planning and School Development in Wiesbaden, one asks: where is there, even in the writing, signs of happiness and exuberance? Here the exception proves the rule, a "gallery of seriousness, of life with a mask and of reticence."

Helga Kämpf-Jansen of Giessen University, who served on the jury, made an analysis and asked, in another context: "Is there a contemporary image of people, with whom they can themselves identify or to whom they can project their wishes and longings as well as their anxieties and sense of hopelessness?"

Perhaps in the first place it is not the choice of people, that permits us to come to conclusions on the state of the soul of young people today, but rather their strange bloodless presentation that *presages why young people have so* little happiness . . .

The most impressive pictures were produced by mentally or physically handicapped children, impressive because they were the most natural.

Basey is 14 and a spastic. She can only control her hand with considerable effort and an iron will. Basey cannot walk and drew a person whose legs were disproportionately long.

Georg, 19, painted his face with two enormous tears. His lady teacher said: "If we could all see and hear just a *little* more closely, perhaps Georg could then paint a more happy picture of himself."

Peter Scherer

(Die Welt, Bonn, 4 January 1988)

Children recall anti-authority up-bringing

***Anti-authoritarian* up-bringing became popular 20 years ago for parents who believed that if society were to be free, every individual must be free. The children were sent to a special breed of kindergarten called a Kinderladen. The first of these children are now aged between 17 and 23. Sixty of them met in Berlin this month to compare notes. And there were some surprises: it seems none had turned out as their parents had hoped; only two are *politically active*; and their general political awareness is no different from *other children. Christian Blees reports* for Der Tagesspiegel.**

One of the girls at the conference complained that her parents had experimented with her too much. Her *sharp criticism sounded relevant and it* was typical of the views expressed during the four-day discussion in West Berlin, although it was clear that those who came tried to cope with the past in their own different ways.

Twenty years ago revolutionary anti-authoritarian education first made its appearance in the Federal Republic.

We had to discuss and talk about everything. Sometimes I just did not want to do so, particularly during puberty," one participant said.

*He continued: "I was not very enthu*siastic to report to my mother in detail about my first girlfriends. We went into very private areas of our lives in the endless discussions."

Many of the participants nodded their heads in agreement with what he had said.

The parents were well intentioned. With anti-authoritarian education the dependence of children on their parents was supposed to be broken down, leaving them free so long as their freedom *did not detract from that of others.*

The advocates of anti-authoritarian education believed that if society wanted to be free then every individual must be free.

In the course of the discussions it was clear that the high-ambitions the parents had for their children had not generally been achieved by their children.

Sybil confessed: "I did not become what my mother wanted of me. When I was a child my mother spoke to me as if I were an adult. She criticised me with the consequence that I now feel very unsure of myself. I haven't any idea yet of what I shall do later with my life."

Peter was in full agreement. He suspected that the reasons behind their parents' passion for discussing matters with their children lay elswhere than where the educators themselves believed.

He said: "The parents were under pressure from their own problems, in which they involved their children to a *considerable extent.*"

He continued: "My mother, for instance, constantly told me about her bed life. Everything took place under the pretext of free sex education. In fact *she just wanted to off-load her own* problems."

Members of "Kommune 2" recognised that there was a *positive* side to this transference of parents' problems to their children.

As members of the first communal living project in this country (a group of people sharing a flat together) in 1969 they established that, "Some unconscious projections were accessible to the consciousness in parent collectives and in the observation of other children. *The parents were forced more to deal* with their conflicts with one another, instead of working them off on the children."

The security that an anti-authoritarian kindergarten offered to the children, and the fact that the parents no longer had to involve themselves exclusively with their children, gave parental conflicts, so often constantly under pressure, a chance to break out.

The problem of what to do with the children should they divorce lost a lot of *its edge, since the collective responsibil*ity for the children was vested in the anti-authoritarian kindergarten.

Peter, speaking for those present, describing an important aspect of these newly-created arrangements, said. "Wives mainly benefited from anti-authoritarian kindergartens. They could get involved politically and get emancipated." "After my mother had the chance of giving more time to her own

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■ ETHICS

Death-with-dignity society spells out demands for those who want to die

The first cyanide death to be connected to the activities of DGHS (German death-with-dignity society) was in 1984. Since then, other cases have come to light at various times. In December last year, a 27-year-old woman *killed herself with putative help from* the society. Hans Henning Atrott is the society's president. Another name connected with it is Julius Hackethal, a well-known and controversial cancer specialist. This article was written for *Die Zeit* by Christel Hofmann.

When asked what death with dignity is, Atrott said: "It's above all when the individual has the sovereign right to choose to die naturally."

A natural death he added, "is dying at home in the bosom of the family without any tubes, pain free and without any life-prolonging drugs."

The DGHS has grown to 15,000 members in seven years. It has concrete aims. They want to see the following points for patients.

- Sovereign rights in the dying process.
- The right to give orders controlling their own lives, which includes the right to die provided they are still in control of their senses.
- A law controlling passive and active euthanasia which protects citizens from legal action.
- The humanising of conditions and treatment of terminal patients in hospitals.
- A change in the attitude to dying with the aim of making people see death as an integral part of their lives.

The subject of death was deliberately *forgotten about for a long time. People* were ashamed to talk about it. Now it is back in a big way.

People are conscious of death and euthanasia and it has become fashionable again, to debate it as an issue in public.

Atrott has no problems at all in talking about death. He is unemotional and matter-of-fact. He tackles all questions and is not embarrassed by any of his answers.

DIE ZEIT

Death with dignity means the DGHS *occasionally have to supply the* substance which brings about death. As in the case of the two paraplegic women. In the eyes of the public the use of cyanide has become a bone of contention.

Is the DGHS a supply centre for cyanide? Atrott says: "Anybody can make cyanide. He only needs to mix prussic acid and potassium."

The compound itself is not poisonous. But if swallowed, it mixes with stomach acids and releases potassium salts. This causes brain death long before the *heart stops beating. It's like a quick* version of dying from carbon monoxide fumes in a car.

Atrott considers cyanide the best substance available. It would be the only one he would use himself. "A few grams are enough to complete the act. There are no side effects such as vomiting or pain, and it acts quickly and is absolutely deadly. It's simply too good to be give to the general public.

The DGHS publishes a brochure which is given to members a year after *they have joined.*

And which substance does the DGHS recommend? The reply was certainly not cyanide. The society recommends the exclusive use of medicines. "There are several reasons," he said. "One cannot rule out abuse, or deception."

But there are three known cases where cyanide was provided. Atrott prefers not see the contradiction. Al*though he admits that no colleague may* act without his instructions.

The society wants the health authorit*ies to give out special licences which* would allow people, in case they mistrusted the list of medicines of the DGHS, to choose whatever poison they want. This would free the DGHS from the stigma of cyanide.

Atrott estimates between 2,000 and 3,000 people use the society's guidelines to commit suicide. "We make sure that death is humane and doesn't endanger others," he said.

The society gets its staff from many different walks of life. Many of them are people seeking new work. Many are students whose studies are related to the theme.

People ask how the society makes an irreversible decision about a person's death wish?

The society bases its decision on information which it gathers and on conversations with the applicants. They *they wait a certain amount of time.* A colleague can turn down help to commit suicide.

The society has to avoid making false evalutations. If a person has psychological reasons for wanting to die he can be very changeable. If physical reasons are the cause, time will show if the person really means what he says.

Atrott says there are many physical reasons for wanting to die. A person's history was important in determining the psychological state of mind. A women who had been handicapped from birth was capable of enjoying life. She had never known anything else other than physical handicap.

But a young attractive woman who had played sport, for example, would have different expectations from life.

If an accident made her paraplegic, she would have to redefine what she expects from life.

Atrott said it was society's duty to be *tolerant if she decided that the quality* of her life was so bad that she wanted to end it.

Thus words such as quality and tolerance have become trendy words in the vocabulary of the DGHS. They appear a lot in their publications.

"This is the basic difference to the practices of the Nazis. The individual *and not the state makes the decision* about his quality of life or about his life at all.

Well-balanced people should be able to decide under which conditions their lives are worth living.

The Emnid institute in Bielefeld did a survey on euthanasia. The results were 79 per cent for active euthanasia according to patient's wish under the legal supervision.



The right to choose . . . Hans Henning Atrott (Photo: dpa)

The percentage of supporters is higher among people with a higher education and income.

The DGHS draws the conclusion the quality of life in general takes precedence over longevity.

Aurelio Peccei, the late founder of the *Club of Rome*, called on the world to introduce new concepts of religion to solve the problems of the present.

Is the euthanasia society on the way *to solving these problems?*

Atrott regards the DGHS as a civil-rights movement. "We are the bad conscience of medical organisations. We dabble in their affairs wanting to give death and dying back to lay people." he said.

Our call for the right to mercy killing is, he added "the result of new medical technology which makes it possible to indefinitely keep people alive in hopeless cases.

Our organisation and the support of *three quarters of our citizens took off at* this point."

The DGHS has four regulations which ensure patients's intentions are in writing in case they are unable to speak. The patient forbids the use of superfluous treatment and states his wish to have a generous dose of painkillers.

The organisation has a bank made up of signed consents in case the person has an accident and his consent with his instructions cannot be found.

In emergencies like this the organisa*tion can send its member's instructions* direct to the hospital.

Atrott was asked what would he do if a politician came to him who was *once* at the top of his profession and was now at the bottom. "I would help him just like anybody else," he said.

In ancient Israel, long before exile, the people translated their ancient wisdom into psalms so that everyone could learn from them. Three thousand years later psalm 90 verse 12 is still impressive.

Lord teach me wisdom, that I might comprehend that I have to die."

The psalm says "have to" not "can." *He meant the end of his biography.*

The DGHS continues to research conscientiously for acceptable substances which as they put it "liberate people." But to liberate them from what?

Even from a biography which is never really finished? We are still awaiting an answer to the question what is death with dignity.

Christel Hofmann

(Die Zeit, Hamburg, 8 January 1988)

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interests, there was immediately trouble *in her marriage and my parents were di*vorced."

Jean-Jacques said that this also had its less pleasant side. He said: "When I was a boy it was often very difficult for me to get used to manly behaviour. I swallowed this but I felt uncomfortable about it."

He continued: "I was particularly aware of this when other children, brought up in the normal way, regarded me as homosexual because of my 'unmanly' behaviour."

A *further problem for children raised* in anti-authoritarian kindergartens came when they had to move from the kindergarten to school. These "emancipated" children had to fight to be accepted by their school chums without having to put aside the behaviour patterns that had been instilled into them.

The young people were all agreed that these disadvantages had now all been overcome. With something bordering on astonishment they recognised that they were no different from other young people of their age.

They rejected the comment that they were an élite, and took the opinion that, "We have learned to talk about problems. To this extent we are superior to other young people. While they suppress their worries and anxieties we can discuss them openly."

Max brought out another *positive* aspect of anti-authoritarian kindergarten education. He said: "We are used to *living in groups.* Many find it difficult to cope with living in a community."

Not one of the children educated in anti-authoritarian kindergartens had achieved one quality that their parents had hoped for their sons and daughters.

They have not learned to be mistrustful of the authorities such as school or the state, and not one of them has become a "political fighter."

If the parents of twenty years ago *still* dreamed of a political revolution, now only a couple of their children are political activists.

Astonishingly the blame for this in many instances seems to lie with the parents themselves.

Jean-Jacques said with some disappointment: "Parents who were active in the extra-parliamentary opposition movement are now just as middle-class as those they had previously fought against."

He continued: "It is justifiable to ask why those parents who wanted to turn us into political people no longer are interested in actively working in the poli*tical arena. I find that very sad.*"

The meeting in Berlin showed that the children of anti-authoritarian kindergartens are no different in their political awareness than young people who had a "middle-class" education.

Juschka made the point that "children brought up in anti-authoritarian kindergartens are not 'better' people.

Every individual is special because of his or her particular abilities. There is no more to it than that."

Christian Blees

(Der Tagesspiegel, Berlin, 10 January 1988)

■ HORIZONS

Box-hut settlement for the homeless — if they can stand the aggro

Twenty windowless orange-coloured metal boxes *sitting in rows on a fairground* field just out of Stuttgart are known as The Containers. They are cheap temporary *accommodation for the homeless.* Each hut, if these primitive dwellings measuring two metres wide by six metres *long* by 12 feet high can be so described, has up to four camping stretchers. They have been built by the Stuttgart authorities, they are heated and there is a kitchen and lavatories in the grounds. But many homeless people refuse to go there. They are dissuaded by the sometimes anarchic social climate. In this article for *Kölner Stadt-Anzeiger,* Peter Henkel looks at the settlement against the background of homelessness in the Stuttgart area.

The orange-coloured huts on the Cannstatter Wasen grounds near Stuttgart look like fairground stands.

This is the venue of a public festival every year, so it's hardly surprising that this is the first thing that comes to mind when people see them from a distance.

Once a year, people from all over Württemberg flock to the festival, the second biggest of its kind in Germany, to *gorge themselves with chicken and* drink vast quantities of alcohol.

The huts, just a stone's throw away *from the River Neckar, are still almost* brand-new. Each is two metres wide and six metres long, and are already commonly referred to as The Containers. Each contains up to four campbeds. Almost 80 people regard the huts as their home for periods ranging from weeks to months.

The only other containers in the vicinity are the refuse receptacles, the sight of which conjures up cynical comparisons: *waste in both containers,* rejected and discarded.

The situation, however, is one of the *more distressing sides of the problem* of homelessness.

The very fact that such accommodation exists in Baden-Württemberg is a scandal in itself.

The authorities in Stuttgart, however, were unable to find an alternative solution.

The situation for extremely low-income single men looking for a place to stay (despite the growing number of women among the homeless men still account for the lion's share) is already alarming enough.

According to the authorities and advice centres, the situation in the flourishing metropolis Stuttgart is "simply catastrophic".

All possible steps are being taken to find inexpensive accommodation so as not to have to resort to such products of helplessness, symbolised by the fair*ground containers.*

For the persons of no fixed abode, vagrants, city tramps or whatever the officialese classification of these social groups may be, however, a monthly rent of DM1,400 for an *80-square-metre* four-room flat is the "pain threshold", as *one social welfare* office worker put it. The various advice centres in this field find themselves in a paradoxical situation.

They pay hoteliers a fixed price of DM30 per person and per night and thus contribute towards jacking up the already high level of rents in Stuttgart.

"The housing office forces us to do so," they complain, "in the interests of normal tenants they have so keep the level of rents as low as possible."

Even housing office officials in Cologne have heard about some the Stuttgart office's past activities.

The head of the Cologne housing office, Uwe Kessler, for example, was told by his colleague in Stuttgart that blank accommodation cheques were issued for the homeless.

The Stuttgart housing office gave a writ*ten assurance that the bill would be paid* no matter what category of accommodation was found, providing the homeless *found places to stay themselves. Today,* the maximum amount paid is DM30.

For those continually confronted by the problem of homelessness there is a con*stant balancing act* between the wishes of those affected and the (assumed) ideas of the general public.

The latter almost exclusively perceive the homeless as a small minority of generally drunk people who lounge about in parks and pedestrian zones in big cities.

Out of consideration for the assumed feelings of the general public the city of Stuttgart for many years provided services in kind for this group rather than monetary payments. Food was handed out instead of money.

The Berlin-based Supreme Administrative Court, however, decided that even persons whom society may regard as outcasts have a right of self-determination and thus a claim to a sum of money, re*gardless how small it may* be.

Stuttgart has now returned to the system of monetary support. Last Christmas, *however, the city* authorities halved the Christmas bonus of DM160 paid to all welfare recipients to celebrate the "feast of goodwill" for the homeless.

They justified their move by claiming that persons in this group don't need money for presents or a Christmas tree.

Neither the Federal Welfare Assistance Act nor official austerity measures make any reference to such major or minor exceptions.

In fact the former generously states that "persons with special social problems" be helped in such a way as to enable them to overcome their problems.

This is probably one of the most unrealistic legal stipulations around. The army of the homeless continues to grow.

The personal histories of those who end up in hostels, cheap hotel rooms, makeshift accommodation, railway station missions or the containers in Stuttgart vary.

Conflict with the law, alcoholism and divorce, however, almost always figure as the cause or result of their plight.

Statistics show that all four factors are occurring more and more frequently. Above all, big cities with their already depleted financial resources find themselves confronted with these problems.

Hundreds of homeless people live in Cologne, Frankfurt or Stuttgart, for example.

A fair number of social workers try to ensure their reintegration into society.

Such initiatives are faced by numerous difficulties and opposition — even from the homeless themselves — and reintegration into the working world in particular is rarely successful.

A uniform federal legal basis outlining the duties towards those seeking help is missing.

Stuttgart has complained for some time now about the inactivity of neighbouring *towns and cities, which more or less shift* the responsibility to the regional capital.

The independent welfare organisations — *above* all, the Protestant and Catholic groups — are also pulling their weight in a concerted effort to help the homeless.

The situation remains urgent. One *so*cial worker explained what a distressing experience it is for him to try and help a young man who is fit, but who is slowly but surely becoming destitute.

Just one of the growing number of young men who are rapidly changing the general opinion that the homeless are bearded tramps over the age of forty.

Employers are even less willing than landlords to give people coming from the world of the homeless another chance.

As appalling as the accommodation in the Stuttgart container-huts may be, they still attract homeless from far and near.

They at least have heating and there is a nearby kitchen and sanitary hut.

The authorities know, however, that the "law of the jungle" often rules there, which *explains why many a homeless person* rejects the idea of living in this environment.

One homeless person said that he would *rather set up a bivouac on the* ice outside rather than move into such an "aggressive hell".

There are still plenty of loners who prefer camping out in the sharp frost to all forms of social contact, even though they have long since become a small minority.

The tenants in the Stuttgart containers are also still a minority, but symptomatic of a society which is becoming socially polarised.

No-one, of course, is happy about the miserable boxes on the banks of the Neckar.

The idea that some people hoped that the erection of these huts would deter some of the homeless from getting into this situation in the first place is not as absurd as it may sound.

"A system cannot organise *itself in a* more awe-inspiring way," said one of the homeless persons, "than to try and deter its victims via other victims".

Peter Henkel

(Kölner Stadt-Anzeiger, Cologne, 7 January 1988)

Home, sweet home. (Photo: dpa)

■ FRONTIERS

The man they seek everywhere remains in the shadows

When Werner Mauss telephones one of the many lawyers across the nation who are involved with his work, he announces himself by saying, "Hier bin ich (here I am)".

The lawyers know him only by telephone. Telephonists know only the imperious tone of his voice. It tends to *fluster them. Mauss is the best-known* secret agent in Germany since James *Bond.*

It even turns out that when the former Premier of Schleswig-Holstein, Uwe Barschel, was found dead in the bath of a hotel room in Geneva, Mauss was also in Geneva in a neighbouring hotel.

The 47-year-old detective has become the subject of an illustrated magazine series and a book is soon to be published. However, the publication of an up-to-date photo of him and details of what he has been getting up to have been banned by court order.

The only reason that anything at all about Mauss, who is known to use at least 26 aliases, has emerged is because a Lower Saxon *Land* assembly parliamentary committee is trying to find out more about him. So far, it has been an uphill struggle.

Mauss has been working for more than a decade for industrial interests, for insurance companies, for the *Bundesverfassungsschutz,* (the counter-espionage Office for the Protection of the Constitution) and the BKA (criminal *police* equivalent to the FBI or CID). He investigates insurance fraud, art thefts and even terrorism.

He is different from James Bond not so much in lifestyle (Mauss has a private aircraft and other Bondish trappings) but more in the fact that he is not bound by oath to Her Majesty. He is a freelance, with the only royal connection being the size of his fees.

If the seven members of the parliamentary committee had their way, Mauss would be brought before them and called on to explain his actions. He has firmly refused to come to a hearing on the grounds that it would endanger *his life. He is now thought to have gone* to Australia.

One of his lawyers, former Bonn Inte*rior Minister Hermann Höcherl, has of*fered the committee the alternatives of a written interview or a chance to cross-examine *him in a foreign country.*

It is clear that he is not loved in the underworld. He uncovered the trail of robbers who stole works of art from Cologne Cathedral. He traced the week-long trail across Europe of drums of dioxin that had been transported from Seveso in Italy (where a dioxin spill caused a tragedy in the early 1980s).

He has become so indispensable to insurance companies and banks that they have formed a common fund to bankroll his investigations.

Mauss' activities in the half-world between legality and illegality became an affair of state because of his role in an escapade mounted by the *Verfassungsschutz* and known as Operation Neuland. In 1978, *Verfassungsschutz* agents used explosives to blow a hole in the wall of a prison in a feigned attempt to free prisoners with the intention of infiltrating two *convicted* criminals into the terrorist scene, Mauss was the go-between between agency and the criminals.

The attempt was not successful. Although the Lower Saxon Premier, Ernst Albrecht (CDU) claimed that information had been gained about planned terrorist attacks, that was not the case. Neither was any terrorist group infiltrated. And neither could there be any talk about a deed to protect the forces *of justice.*

On the contrary, the talk was now about state terrorism. It emerged from a *confidential report tabled at the com*mittee hearing that this experience had in no way deterred the *Verfassungsschutz.*

At the beginning of the 1980s, Mauss went on its behalf into action against right-wing extremists — with similar results. Mauss collected his hefty fee, but not much else happened.

In another case, the committee discovered that during an investigation into the robbery of a jewelry shop in Hanover, German police working with Mauss in a foreign country installed illegal bugging devices.

They were meant to be controlling Mauss, but instead he seemed to control them. He ran them round in his aircraft and even paid them expenses.

The jeweller himself was eventually convicted of the robbery. He had done it to get money to fight off threatening bankruptcy. *It emerged that from the* millions offered as a reward by the insurance underwriters and paid out by Mauss and his hirers, little more was achieved than loosening a few tongues.

One of the main witnesses even admitted having lied. And the chief investigator of the Hanover BKA was threatened with a perjury charge for what he told the parliamentary committee.

Other witnesses told of how Mauss used reward money to persuade witnesses to say the right thing. If that didn't work, Mauss would use stronger methods.

When the committee got round to investigating the prison-wall explosion, it *was handicapped not so much* by people telling lies as people saying hardly anything at all. One sitting had to be adjourned because *five witnesses* did not turn up.

The committee appealed to the Bonn Interior Minister, Friedrich Zimmermann (CDU) because he had delayed approval for the head of the *Verfassungsschutz,* Gerhard Boeden, to give evidence.

In addition, the committee learned that its jurisdiction ended at the Lower Saxon *Land* borders. A court decided that witnesses from other *Länder* did not need to appear. The issue is now to be ruled on by a higher court.

The question of whether Mauss should be the subject of an international hunt, is a question that lawyers are now discussing.

Even if a court gives legal backing to everything the committee wants, it does not mean an arrest warrant can be issued. Mauss' counsel are prepared to ex*haust all legal avenues for their client.*

Parliamentarians trying to get at the truth behind the events are not even *getting very far with politicians respon*sible for the criminal police and the counter-espionage agency.



One of the few photos of Werner Mauss. (Photo: dpa)

Lower Saxony's largest-circulation regional newspaper even said that the *Land's* Interior Minister, Wilfried Hasselmann (CDU), was making "getting at the truth as difficult as possible."

Just how far this cronyism between the investigation authorities and their free-lance employees goes was dis*covered by Rudolf Fischer, a member* of the investigating committee and head of the assembly's FDP group.

He *told* the assembly he had information from a reliable source according to which a journalist who was also *an occasional informant for the Verfassungsschutz* had been warned by official circles in advance that his house was to be searched.

This was in connection with the Barschel affair.

Thomas Kröter

(Kölner Stadt-Anzeiger, Cologne, 11 January 1988)

A lady lawyer who got mixed up in gangland

Isolde Oechsle-Misfeld has been in solitary confinement in a Lübeck remand cell for seven months. She has spent the time knitting pullovers with a flexible, round needle. Normal knitting needles are banned. The might be used to commit suicide.

This week she was taken to the Ham*burg jail where, last year, the public* prosecutor says she passed drugs to her client and persuaded him to go on a fi*nal rampage.*

Frau Oechsle-Misfeld is a lawyer. her client was Werner Pinzner, known as *the Killer of St Pauli.*

On 29 July 1986, in Hamburg police headquarters he shot dead a prosecutor assigned to his case, his wife and finally himself. The bloodbath led to the resignation of two members of the Hamburg city cabinet.

The case of the state against the 40-year-old lawyer has all the attributes of a sensation. The accused is an attractive woman, academic and from a middle-class Lübeck family. A woman who became involved with the St Pauli underworld, became counsel for a killer who had killed five times on contract; who was present when Pinzner pulled the trigger.

According to medical reports, Frau Oechsle-Misfeld is now mentally ill and possibly not fit for trial.

There are many other ingredients to this affair. For months, the trial of a brothel owner *called Josef Nusser has* been in progress. He is said to be one of those to have ordered Pinzner to carry out *killings. Also involved in the trial* are two men who, among other things, are said to be cohorts of Pinzner.

And *then* are *Messrs* Holger Sass, "Kalle" Schwensen and "Ringo" Klemm (Klemm has been extradited from Costa Rica) who are known as the Mr Bigs of



Doubts about her mental state ... Isolde Oechsle-Misfeld. (Photo: dpa)

the gangland and who are in investigative custody.

They are regarded as being the back*ground forces behind the machinations* of Pinzner and his lawyer.

And behind the Mr Bigs is thought to *be the international cocain mafia, the* most important member of which, Carlos Lehder, is at present facing charges in America.

This is proving to be one of the most difficult investigations ever in Hamburg. Many witnesses aren't alive any more to tell what they know. They have either been murdered or have supposedly killed themselves.

That also means that those witnesses who have so far survived are not exactly spilling the beans. There are great fears for the life of the woman who reputedly has the most of all to tell: Isolde Oechsle-Misfeld.

She is reputed to be the best-protected prisoner in the entire nation. Down *in the gangland underworld, it* is being said that her best chances of survival are "to keep as quiet as a tomb."

The prosecution is seeking to prove that, on the orders of the St Pauli bosses, particularly Klemm, she persuaded Pinzner to make the "big exit": *the* murder of the prosecutor, Wolfgang Bistry, and the himself.

The state prosecution case now is that the men in the background feared that the talkative Pinzner would say too much and that, in any case, Bistry already knew too much.

It says that the term "exitus triumphalis" is a term used by Frau Oechsle-Misfeld to a Hamburg journalist before the killings at police headquarters.

It is being alleged that, in return for the killings, Pinzner's teenage daughter, Birgit, whom he loved more than anybody, would receive a monthly income of 1,500 marks. Two of these monthly payments are known to have been paid.

Between April and the end of July in 1986, Frau Oechsle-Misfeld visited Pinzner 74 times in his cell.

It is alleged that she brought him her*oin, hashish and cocain which* had been obtained from sources in the underground.

It is alleged that Pinzner's wife, Jutta, smuggled the Smith and Wesson revolver into police headquarters and passed it to him. Klemm and Frau Oechsle-Misfeld are said to have obtained it.

Thomas Wolgast

(Mannheimer Morgen, 9 January 1988)